

HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF
SOUTHERN
CALIFORNIA

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA QUARTERLY



The *Southern California Quarterly* is pleased to announce the appointment of Jeffrey A. Sosner as Editorial Assistant. He is a graduate student in English, with an emphasis on creative writing, at California State University, Northridge. A native of Los Angeles, he graduated from Ulysses S. Grant High School, North Hollywood, in 1988. Several years later he matriculated at CSUN where he received his B.A. in English *cum laude*, 2001. He is a published poet and has been the recipient of several campus prizes and one from the Academy of American Poets. This coming Fall semester he will be teaching Freshmen Composition at CSUN.

Lydia Balian continues as an Editorial Assistant through the Fall 2004 issue of the quarterly when her appointment will end. She is devoting her last year of graduate study to completing her M.A. in History. We wish her well and compliment her on being such a diligent and excellent assistant.

The Editor

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HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF
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SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA QUARTERLY

SUMMER 2004

The publication of the Summer 2004 issue of the *Southern California Quarterly* commemorates the 120th anniversary of the Historical Society of Southern California whose headquarters have been at the Charles F. Lummis Home (El Alisal) since 1965.



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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was founded November 1, 1883, and incorporated February 13, 1891. It has enjoyed an unbroken record of continuous activity and growth. Commencing in 1884, and each year through 1934, the Society issued an *Annual Publication*. In 1935 the *Quarterly* was initiated. The Society's publications through 1976 have been described in a concise abstract of articles and separately indexed by Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager (comps.), *A Bibliography* (1958), *The Topical Index* (1959), and *Cumulative Index* (1977). A complete list of past Society publications and prices is available on request from the Executive Director. Membership classifications, which include subscription to the *Quarterly* are:

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200 EAST AVENUE 43 LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90031-1304

Telephone: (323) 222-0546

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Authors whose articles are accepted for publication receive twenty-five reprints without cost. Authors are offered the opportunity to order additional copies at rates quoted by the printer.

In matters of style, the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style* (15th ed.) is considered definitive. While articles in any form or style will be considered for publication, the Editorial Board reserves the right to return accepted manuscripts for the required changes. It is requested that manuscripts submitted for consideration include a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Manuscript contributions and books for review (submitted at the owner's risk), as well as other editorial matter, should be addressed to the *Quarterly's* editor: Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., HSSC, 200 East Avenue 43, Los Angeles, CA 90031-1304.

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ON THE COVER: "The Lummis House, as epicted in a contemporary watercolor by Joseph Stoddard." *Courtesy of the artist. Designed by Hortensia Chu.*

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CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT RYAL MILLER, after service in the U.S. Air Force in World War II, completed his B.A. (1948) in History, an M.A. (1951), and his Ph.D. in 1960 "with distinction." He began his teaching career with a specialty in Mexico and the history of the Spanish-Mexican California. He taught eight years at New Mexico State University, taking a leave in 1966 to serve as a visiting professor at the National University (San Marcos), Lima, Peru, and Resident Director of Indiana University's "Junior Year in Peru." In 1970 he joined the faculty of California State University, Hayward, and became emeritus professor in 1980. He is the author or editor of thirteen books and numerous scholarly article. His notable contributions to the history of California include biographies of William A. Richardson, founder of San Francisco (1995), *Juan Alvarado: Governor of California, 1836–1842* (1998), and *A Yankee Smuggler on the Spanish California Coast: George Washington Eayrs and the Ship Mercury* (2001). He lives in active retirement in La Jolla.

ANNE J. MILLER is a psychologist who received her doctorate from the University of Arizona and has been practicing psychology since 1978. She began doing genealogical research about sixteen years ago. She is particularly interested in combining historical resources with genealogical resources to provide a more comprehensive understanding of people and their lives. In recent years, she has focused on the history and genealogy of families in the western states, especially southern California, Utah and Arizona. She also gives presentations and seminars in genealogy.

MARY A. VAN BALGOOY is a native of southern California. She received her B.A. from the University of California, Irvine, and M.A. from Claremont Graduate University. She currently lives in the Washington, D.C., area and works as the Collections Manager in the Office of the Curator at the Supreme Court of the United States. This article is based on her Master's Thesis titled, "Women and Domestic Architecture in Cold War America: Cliff May's California Ranch House Designs."

DON PARSON received his Ph.D. in Urban Planning from the University of California, Los Angeles, in 1985. He is the author of the forthcoming *Making a Better World: Public Housing and the Direction of Modern Los Angeles* to be published by the University of Minnesota Press.

ENTERTAINMENT IN HISPANIC CALIFORNIA, 1769-1848

by Robert Ryal Miller

The *Californios*, who were fond of amusements, had many occasions for a *fiesta*, many of them tied to the religious calendar. Each Franciscan mission, *presidio* (military fort and garrison), civilian *pueblo* (town), and rancho celebrated its patron saint's day with festivities which typically began with a Mass, followed by horse racing, bullfights, and a *baile* (ball) in the evening. One of the big annual events occurred on December 12 when the Virgin of Guadalupe was honored throughout the region. The celebration was especially lavish in Monterey, seat of the governor, the custom house, and an important military garrison. Walter Colton, who lived in the capital city, recorded the following: "The old church bell has been ringing out all the morning in honor of Guadalupe, patron saint of California. Her festivities commenced last evening in illuminated windows, bonfires, the flight of rockets, and the loud mirth of children."¹

August Bernard Duhaut-Cilly, captain of the French merchant ship *Héros*, wrote about his visit to Mission San Luis Rey in mid-June 1827, which coincided with two festivals: the 29th anniversary of the founding of the mission and the name-saint's day of the missionary, Fray Antonio Peyri. The day commenced with a high Mass sung by the Indian choir accompanied by native musicians; then there was a bullfight, followed by a *carreira de gallo*, where horsemen raced by and grabbed live roosters buried up to their necks in the sand. The final event was a jousting game called *cañas*, or *juego de vara*, during which mounted men, armed with long canes or willow poles, charged and

lashed each other when they met. Indian dances by torchlight concluded the celebration. Duhaut-Cilly recalled: "A dozen men, wearing only thongs, heads bedecked with tall feather plumes, danced together with admirable rhythm. Their pantomime, always representing some scene or another, was performed mainly by stamping the feet in unison and by making with eyes and arms gestures of love, anger, fear, and the like."²

Special masses and sacred processions were a principal feature of religious holidays, but there were also games and gaiety. In the pueblos and missions *Navidad* (Christmas) was preceded by performances of *Los Pastores*, a shepherd's drama, which was a delightful survival of medieval miracle plays. The principal characters, enacted by local residents, were the Archangel Michael; the devil; Bartolo, a clownish figure, and several shepherds. The actors went from house to house, performing the three scenes of the drama: shepherds watching their flocks, the appearance of an angel announcing the birth of Christ and commanding them to go and adore Him, and the stable scene (with the Holy Family invisible). Meanwhile, the devil made sarcastic remarks and tried to dissuade the shepherds from their journey. The lazy Bartolo, lounging on a sheepskin, cracked jokes, which the crowd enjoyed. Inhabitants of each house treated the actors with *buñuelos* (fritters) or sweets. When they emerged out into the streets, Michael and the devil staged a mock battle.³

Carnestolendas, the three days before Ash Wednesday and Lent, were celebrated in the merrymaking tradition of Carnival. A public program of entertainment, featuring musicians and sometimes jugglers and acrobats, was climaxed with a *cascarones* (eggshells) ball. During the preceding weeks, housewives saved their eggshells, carefully poking a hole in one end of the egg, removing the contents, and filling the dried shell with bits of colored paper and sometimes a little cologne. The hole was then sealed with paper pasted over it, or with wax. At the ball the *cascarones* were used in one of two ways: a person wishing to dance with someone broke a *cascarón* lightly over the head of the favored one, the confetti falling on his or her hair and shoulders. Another amusement was to break an eggshell upon the head of someone behind his or her back then dodge out of view; whereupon the recipient tried to find out who had done it and return the compliment, but it also had to be done on the sly. It was a colorful custom that led to much fun and an occasional fistfight.⁴

Secular events, such as Mexican Independence Day on September 16, or the inauguration of a new governor, were marked with fireworks, public speeches, horsemanship demonstrations, barbecues, and dancing. In 1842,

Couple dancing the polka depicted in
Lopez Abraham, *Calendario* (1843). Courtesy
Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley.



when Governor Manuel Micheltorena arrived in San Diego with his ragamuffin army, the residents heralded the new executive with festivities. But after their chicken coops were raided and laundry on their clotheslines was stolen by the Mexican convict soldiers, the local people were glad to see the official entourage move on to Los Angeles. Likewise, the forced expulsions of Governors Nicolás Gutiérrez and Mariano Chico resulted in gala *fiestas* in the capital of Monterey.⁵

Several visitors and residents of California described bullfights, which were staged on national and religious festival days. Sometimes the bulls were killed, but more often they were set free after being harassed. Bullfights at Mission San Luis Rey took place in the large courtyard, as recorded by an eyewitness:

The riders all tormented the bull, which put its head down and rushed now at one and then at another. But such is the skill of these men and their horses that they are almost never struck, although the horns of the bull appear to touch them at every moment. . . .

After they had taunted, tormented, and tired him out for half an hour, a carriage gate was opened onto the plain, and as soon as the animal saw this exit, he ran out as fast as he could go. The horsemen sped like arrows in pursuit, and when the fastest one caught up with the bull, he seized him by the tail and, spurring his horse at that moment, overturned him and sent him rolling in the dust. Only after this humiliation was the animal allowed to regain the pasture. This exercise, which requires as much agility as strength on the part of the horseman, is known in the country as *colear el toro*, tailing the bull.⁶

Staged fights between a bull and a bear were unique to Alta California,

which had a great supply of both animals. At Mission San Gabriel the "enclosure" for these encounters was made up of mounted *vaqueros* (cowboys) who formed a circle with their *reatas* (lariats) in hand. Mariana Richardson recalled a bull and bear baiting that she witnessed there early in 1835:

When the bear was led into this human enclosure, he was thrown on his back and a reata tied around his left leg. The bull was led in and treated in the same manner. I think the reata was tied on his right leg. Then they were tied together and made to stand up. At first they tried to make their escape but soon discovered they had to fight. The bear stood up on his haunches and prepared for the fight. The bull, seeing this, tried to run his horns through the bear, but the bear was too quick and turned aside. Before the bull could recover himself, the bear had him around the horns and commenced pulling him down to the ground. But the bull was a big, strong young fellow and was not easily beaten. After regaining his feet he lowered his head and was about to make a charge on the bear when the bear again caught him between the horns and succeeded in throwing him. The bear had the bull on the ground and deliberately, by brute force, thrust his paw into the bull's mouth and pulled out his tongue. The latter expired in a few minutes.⁷

The arrival of a foreign warship or merchant vessel at one of the ports inaugurated a period of conviviality with banquets, dances, and invitations to events on the ships. Sometimes visiting sailors would borrow horses and ride through the countryside, shooting deer, elk, and wild game which provided a culinary treat to complement their shipboard fare. Richard T.

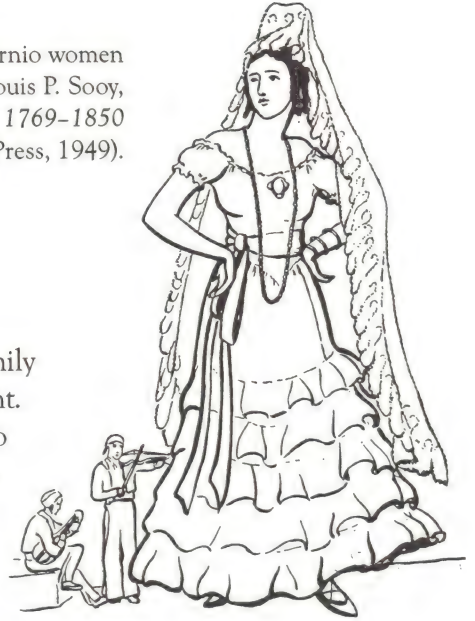
Maxwell, a surgeon aboard a United States warship that was anchored in Monterey Bay for more than six weeks in the fall and winter of 1842-1843, mentioned that the ship's band provided music for the weekly balls, one of which he described in detail:

On the night of the First of January, we gave them a ball at the Government House. . . . The stewards of our messes were set to work making all kinds of delicacies in the shape of cakes and pies for the supper at the ball. Our wine from Madeira was all expended, so we were obliged to depend on whisky toddy, which the ladies thought was very fine, and indulged in rather too freely. . . . These people had the most extraordinary customs. They came on board the ship and danced all day, and we would go on shore and dance all night.⁸



"A California Vaquero" from Gleason's Pictorial
8 (March 13, 1852): 172. Courtesy California State
Library, Sacramento.

Typical fandango dress worn by Californio women
from Margaret G. Mackay and Louis P. Sooy,
Early California Costumes, 1769-1850
(2nd ed., Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1949).



Weddings were an occasion for family reunions and a great amount of entertainment. Often, the bride and groom were escorted to the mission or pueblo church, riding on separate, richly caparisoned horses. After the ceremony, the couple rode together to the reception, with the bride seated side-saddle and the groom mounted on the *anquera* (leather tailpiece) behind the saddle. This scenario was followed when Pío Pico and María Ignacia Alvarado, members of prominent California families, were married in the Plaza Church in Los Angeles in 1834.

After leaving the church they mounted on their horses and rode to the home of the bride's mother, where breakfast was served. A large procession of friends followed on horseback, also on foot. . . . After having a light breakfast at the home of the bride, they all returned to the house of José Antonio Carrillo, the brother-in-law of the groom, where the fiesta was held. This feast lasted five or six days. As soon as the bridal pair arrived, the fun commenced, which consisted of dancing, music, singing, bullfights, and feasting. The bride was dressed magnificently. During the first evening of the fiesta she changed her dress at least three times. Her dresses were of the finest silk, beautifully made. . . . The groom was dressed in knee pants of velvet, trimmed with gold lace; his coat was also of velvet and gold lace.⁹

A notable and gala wedding took place at Mission Santa Barbara in 1836. The bride was Ana María de la Guerra, daughter of the commandant of the *presidio*, and the groom was Alfred Robinson, a Yankee twice her age. Robinson, who had come to California in 1829, was a trader who had mastered the Spanish language and had converted to Roman Catholicism. In his famous book, *Two Years Before the Mast*, Richard Henry Dana, Jr., described some events of the wedding day:

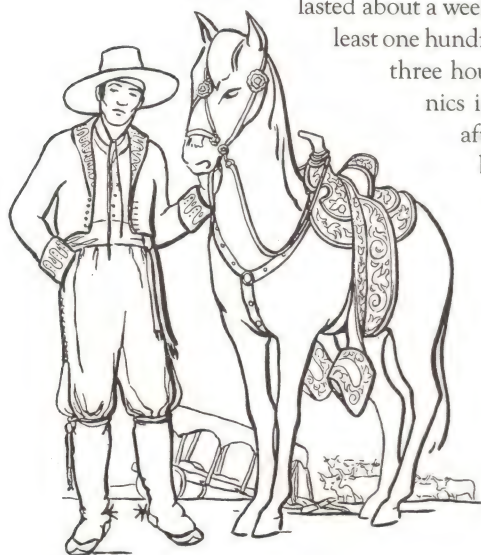
At ten o'clock the bride went up with her sister to the confessional, dressed in deep black. Nearly an hour intervened, when the great doors of the mission church opened, the bells rang out. . . the bride, dressed in complete white, came out of the church with the bridegroom, followed by a long procession. Just as she stepped from the church door, a small white cloud issued from the bows of our ship, which was in full sight, the loud report echoed among the surrounding hills and over the bay, and instantly the ship was dressed in flags and pennants from stem to stern.¹⁰

While the wedding party and guests proceeded to the bride's family home, Dana's ship fired a twenty-three gun salute. The reception was highlighted by a dinner, and after a *siesta*, there was a *fandango* in the courtyard of the De la Guerra home, where a large tent had been erected.

In November 1838, when José Martínez and Carmen Peralta were married, most of the groom's family rode horseback from their Rancho Pinole on San Pablo Bay south to the Peralta family's Rancho San Antonio (in present-day Oakland), about twenty miles away. Guests from the village of Yerba Buena (San Francisco) crossed San Francisco Bay by launch to join the procession. Then on the next day, joined by the bridal party, they rode to the church at Mission San Jose, an additional distance of about thirty miles. Three *caponeras* (bands) of horses were available for the wedding cavalcade—one consisted of twenty-five cream-colored palominos, another was a similar number of *canelos* (red roans), and the third group was made up of black horses. On returning to Rancho Pinole, the groom's father fired a salute from a brass cannon mounted in front of his dwelling. A guest recorded that festivities

lasted about a week, dancing being kept up all night with a company of at least one hundred men and women from the adjoining ranchos, about three hours after daylight being given to sleep, after which picnics in the woods were held during the forenoon, and the afternoon was devoted to bullfighting. . . . The bride and bridegroom were not given any seclusion until the third night.¹¹

Some large wedding dances were held outdoors in tents or in horseshoe-shaped temporary arbors made of interlaced branches and lined



Californio and his horse from Mackay and Sooy, *Early California Costumes, 1769-1850*.

inside with cloth or coverlets to keep out the wind. The dance floor was a wooden platform or, more commonly earth that previously had been watered, pounded, and leveled. Benches or seats of some kind were placed around the edges. The music was performed by two to six persons who played guitars and violins, accompanied by singers, some of whom played castanets, tambourines, and occasionally a flute. José Arnaz, a Spanish merchant, attended a wedding in 1840 at Valentín Higuera's rancho near San Jose, where he witnessed two shocking customs: men rode their horses onto the dancing platform "where they made them give turns and dance also," and women threw their embroidered Chinese shawls, valued at \$200 or \$300 each, on the wine-soaked wooden floor and danced on them.¹²

A great variety of dance tunes were popular in California. Although fandango was used as a general term for a party or a dance, it was also a specific dance form with its own music in 6/8 time. Beginning slowly, the couple marked the rhythm by the click of castanets, snapping of fingers, and stamping their feet, the speed gradually increasing to a whirl of exaltation. During the dance, the partners tease, entreat, and pursue each other in turn. A feature of the fandango, and also of the *seguidilla*, is a sudden pause of the music toward the end of each measure, upon which the dancers stand rigid until the music is resumed.¹³

One of the most popular dances was the Mexican *jarabe*, danced by a couple who faced each other and kept time to the music by constant heel and toe tapping. The woman remained erect, her head tilted a little to the right as she modestly lowered her eyes and lifted her skirt to show her ankles and feet. Her partner, wearing his *sombrero* (hat), "rattled away with his feet with wonderful dexterity. His arms were thrown carelessly behind his back and secured, as they crossed, the points of his serape, that still held its place upon his shoulders."¹⁴

The lively *sones*, in which the music was accompanied by three or four singers,



"Senorita with a Parrot" from *The Wild West*,
Holiday Pictorial Edition (January 1, 1858): 2.
 Courtesy California State Library.



"The Fandango" from *The Century Magazine* (January 1891): 6.
Courtesy California State Library.

were danced in the following manner. A *tecolero*, or master of ceremonies, went around the room stopping in front of each woman and, beating the rhythm with his hands and feet, he would not leave until the woman arose and gave at least one turn. When they found a good dancer, the men showed their appreciation by applauding and putting their hats on her head, one above the other. Then when the *son* ended, the owner of each hat went to the dancer and regained his hat by a gift of a coin or a flattering comment.¹⁵

Other dances included the *bolero*, with its low, gliding steps; the *seguidilla*, which was accompanied by singing of *coplas* (verses); the *jota*, a lively regional dance that originated in the Spanish province of Aragon, and the *zapateado*, with its fancy footwork. To dance the *bamba*, a lady balanced a glass of water on her head, then she stepped into a silk hobble and raised it to her knees and lowered it again without spilling the water, all the time tapping the floor with her feet. In another dance, called *el burro* (the donkey), an equal number of men and women formed a circle with an extra man in the center. When the music began, those forming the circle danced around the central figure while singing verses until, at a signal, each man embraced a woman, and the man who was left alone became the *burro*.¹⁶



"A California Horse Race" from *The Wide West*, *Holiday Pictorial* Edition (January 1, 1851). Courtesy California State Library.



"The Elopement." Painting by Charles Christian Nahl. Honeyman Collection, courtesy The Bancroft Library.

Dances from northern Europe and the British Isles were also in the repertoire of California balls. Contemporary letters and memoirs mention the *minuet*, with its slow, graceful movements and curtseys, which was often followed by the *gavotte*, originally a French peasants' dance. Some British sailors taught the Californios the *contradanza*, "Sir Roger de Coverley," in which the partners were drawn up in lines facing each other. The lively Bohemian polka passed from Prague to Madrid to Mexico City and on to California, as did the Hungarian dance called the *galop* and the Polish *mazurka*.¹⁷

By 1820 the *vals* (waltz), a German round dance written in 3/4 time, had reached California by way of Chile and Peru. It immediately became popular with the Californios, who loved to dance it at their many fiestas. But in October 1822, the waltz suddenly was banned by church officials. Juan Bautista Alvarado, who was a teenager at the time, later wrote about the prohibition, stating that when Canon Agustín Fernández Vicente, an emissary from the central Mexican government, arrived in Monterey in late September of 1822, he published an edict of anathema imposing excommunication on any person who, publicly or privately, danced the waltz. Earlier, this edict had been issued

"A California Party on a Picnic."

From Walter Colton, *Three Years in California* (New York: Barnes, 1850).



by the bishop of Sonora on the grounds that such close contact between the sexes was deemed to be highly immoral and consequently heretical. A public reading of the edict took place in all the churches, and then copies of it were posted on the church doors.¹⁸

A week after publication of the waltz ban, José María Estudillo, commandant of the Monterey presidio, invited Governor Luis María Argüello and his wife, as well as the local army officers and their wives, to a ball in the government hall. The dancing began with a sedate Spanish contradanza, as was customary. Then one of the young men approached the governor and remarked that if the ban against those who danced the waltz had not been issued, he might ask the musicians to play one, since it had been all the rage until the recent edict. Governor Argüello replied that he was neither a bishop nor an archbishop, nor was it within his province to examine the conscience of individuals; that if the waltz was pleasing to those there assembled, they might dance it; and that if he knew how to waltz, he would dance it himself. Juan Alvarado recalled, "I think it is superfluous to say that the waltz was danced in the parlor of that place that very night to the great pleasure of those in attendance. A few days later it was also danced in other private homes, as the example given by his Excellency proved contagious throughout the entire territory."¹⁹

In addition to participating in public entertainment spectacles, the Californios enjoyed amusements and smaller fiestas in their homes. They honored family members' birthdays as well as their saint's days with gifts, special foods, and fun. The baptism of a baby was another cause for celebration, as was the blessing of a new house. On the ranchos, when the annual *rodeo* (roundup of livestock) was over, the event called for a barbecue, trick riding and roping, music and dancing. Singing of folk songs, as well as courting serenades, are mentioned in the correspondence and memoirs of the time. These songs were not available in printed form—they were passed along orally. Many homes had a guitar; there were a few harps and three pianos: one in San Pedro, one in Monterey, and one in Sonoma. Children played games such as *vaquela*, which involved throwing pebbles at a mark drawn on the ground, and *tágame*, a game of peg toss; they rolled a hoop with a stick; and they played *gallina ciega* (blindman's bluff). In rainy or cold weather they amused themselves with dolls, homemade toys, playing cards, and other indoor activities.²⁰

Californios enjoyed entertaining guests, and they filled much of their leisure time with simple amusements. These included *meriendas* (picnics),

horseracing, card games and gambling, dominoes, guessing games, and storytelling. Music and dancing were commonplace. No wonder that many American and European visitors, some of them with a Puritanical work-ethic background, considered California, with its pastoral simplicity and rustic contentment, to be an Arcadia.

NOTES

¹Walter Colton, *Three Years in California* (Cincinnati: H. W. Derby & Co., 1850), p. 308.

²Auguste Duhaut-Cilly, *A Voyage to California, The Sandwich Islands, and Around the World in the Years 1826-1829*, trans. and ed. by August Frugé and Neal Harlow (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1997), pp. 114, 123.

³Arturo Bandini, *Navidad; A Christmas Day with the Early Californians, and Pastorela, a Shepherd's Play*, ed. by Susanna B. Dakin, trans. by Gwladys L. Williams (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1958), pp. 3-15.

⁴Brigida Briones, "A Carnival Ball at Monterey in 1829," *Century* 41 (Jan. 1891): 468-69.

⁵Robert Ryall Miller, *Juan Alvarado: Governor of California, 1836-1842* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), pp. 49, 92.

⁶Duhaut-Cilly, *A Voyage to California*, pp. 118-120.

⁷Mariana Richardson de Torres, "Recollections," MS, Bidwell Collection, California State Library, Sacramento, p. 5.

⁸Richard T. Maxwell, *Visit to Monterey in 1842*, ed. by John Haskell Kemble (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1955), pp. 32-33.

⁹Richardson de Torres, "Recollections," pp. 10-11.

¹⁰William Henry Dana, Jr., *Two Years Before the Mast* (New York: Harper, 1840; reprint, 2 vols., Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1964): 1: 236.

¹¹William Heath Davis, *Seventyfive Years in California* (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1967), p. 51.

¹²José Arnaz, "Memoirs of a Merchant," *Touring Topics* 20 (October 1928): 36.

¹³Lucile K. Czarnowski, *Dances of Early California Days* (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1950), pp. 16, 22; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s. v. "Dance."

¹⁴Alfred Robinson, *Life in California Before the Conquest* (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1846), pp. 52-53.

¹⁵Carlos N. Hajar, "Recollections About California," MS, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, p. 11; Robinson, *Life in California*, p. 53.

¹⁶Susanna Bryant Dakin, *A Scotch Paisano; Hugo Reid's Life in California, 1832-1852* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939), pp. 47-49; Czarnowski, *Dances of Early California*, p. 16.

¹⁷Czarnowski, *Dances of Early California*, p. 16; Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez, *Spanish Arcadia* (Los Angeles: Powell Pub. Co., 1929), p. 313.

¹⁸Juan Bautista de Alvarado, "Historia de California," 2: 33-34, MS, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

¹⁹Miller, *Juan Alvarado*, p. 18.

²⁰Hubert H. Bancroft, *California Pastoral, 1769-1848* (San Francisco: History Co., 1888), p. 404; Sanchez, *Spanish Arcadia*, pp. 301-302; Miller, *Juan Alvarado*, p. 7.

MARÍA ANTONIA APIS:

A Young Luiseño Indian Woman

by Anne J. Miller

The story of María Antonia Apis is a reflection of the changing times and conflicting cultures of the mid-1800s in southern California. Those were very difficult times for the Indians as the Mission Era ended, major uprisings and massacres occurred, and thousands of newcomers interacted with the Indians who had lived in California for generations. María Antonia's life was complicated by additional circumstances. She was the granddaughter of one of the few Indians to be given a land grant. At a young age, she gave birth to four children, three daughters and a son, who were fathered by a prominent, wealthy land owner. Soon after her father and grandfather died, others sought to take the land from María Antonia and her family.

A few aspects of María Antonia's life are mentioned in some journals and books about members of her family. Leland Bibb referred to her in an article about her grandfather Pablo Apis.¹ The story of María Antonia's four oldest children is included in Esther Boulton Black's book *Rancho Cucamonga and Doña Merced*.² Black notes that María Antonia's three daughters fathered by Isaac Williams were accepted into California's society circles and that they "found life good in later years," but there are few references to María Antonia.³ In contrast to the lives of her daughters, much of María Antonia's years might be described as harsh, difficult and rather sad.

The records for Mission San Luis Rey provide information about the Luiseño Indian families during the period between 1798 and about 1835.⁴ María Antonia was baptized as a newborn at the mission in 1830. Her parents were Pablo Apis (often referred to as Pablito to distinguish him from his

father, Pablo Apis) and María Matilde Vehuasón. The mission records do not continue past the mid-1830s, but they do indicate that María Antonia was the middle of three daughters born to Pablo and Matilde between 1827 and 1832 and that the other two girls died as young children. The 1850 census for California was not taken until after California became a state in September 1850. The census for most of San Diego County was taken in February 1851. The family of Pablo and Matilde also included their one-year-old son.⁵

One of the difficulties in researching the Apis family is that often people were not aware that there were two men, father and son, both named Pablo Apis. They only knew of the Pablo Apis who was baptized as a child at San Luis Rey in 1798 and who received a grant to Little Temecula. Therefore, the actions and qualities of both men, however contradictory, were attributed to the Pablo Apis who was well-known. Horace Parker mentioned this in his book *The Temecula Massacre* and acknowledged that he, too, was puzzled by accounts that mentioned "Pablo Apis protecting the whites at Pala and at the same time being accused of participating in the Pauma Massacre."⁶ Parker explains that his confusion was resolved by a note written by Judge Benjamin Hayes that states: "PABLO APIS—It is not altogether a *scandal*, that makes him (that is, Pablo Junior) a *Machado*, on the parental side son of Don Manuel Machado. . . ."⁷ Perhaps Pablito was the step-son of Pablo Apis, but there does not appear to be any additional information to indicate that the younger Pablo was the son of Manuel Machado.

Several authors report that Pablo Apis rebelled against Pío Pico during the period when Pico was in charge of Mission San Luis Rey.⁸ They also mention that Pablo Apis was imprisoned for a short time in June 1836.⁹ In his memoirs dictated to Thomas Savage, Pico said that it was an Indian named Pablito from Temecula who was organizing the uprising against him in 1836 and that it was Pablito's father who told the commander about his son's plans for the uprising.¹⁰ Pablito's father Pablo was an *alcalde* who was on friendly terms with the commander and others at the mission. Pico also mentioned holding Pablito for a short time and then releasing him to avoid more serious consequences. It would have been during María Antonia's childhood years that her father Pablito was engaged in these activities against Pico at San Luis Rey.



The first of María Antonia's four children from her relationship with Isaac Williams was born in 1846 when María was about sixteen years old. María

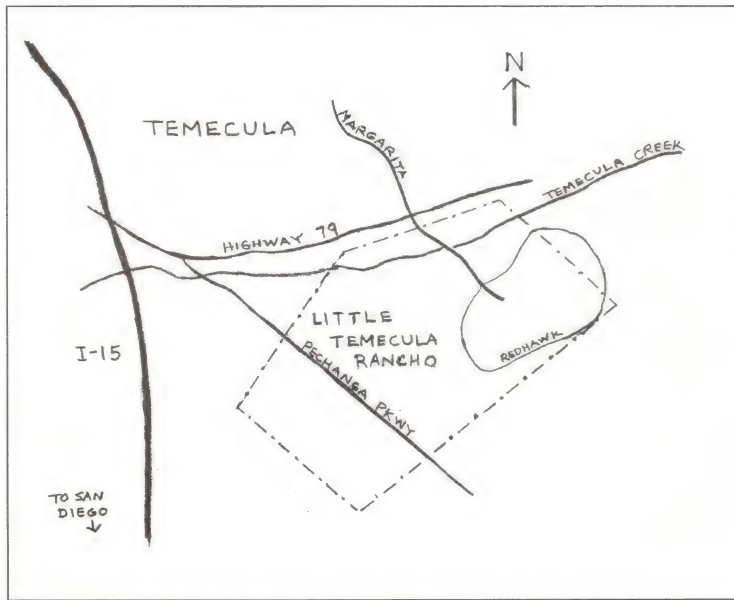


Palomar Mountain from Pechanga Canyon, home of the Temecula Indians.

*Courtesy of University of Southern California,
on behalf of the USC Specialized Libraries and Archival Collections.*

Antonia's first cousin, María de Jesus Apis, also had a child with Isaac Williams in 1846.¹¹ Williams, a wealthy land owner from Chino, was about forty-seven years old. He had connections with Temecula for a number of years and grazed cattle and sheep in the area. Isaac had been a widower since his wife died in 1842 after the birth of their fourth child.¹² Only two of Isaac's four children by his first wife lived to adulthood: Merced, born in 1839, and Francesca, born in 1840. Both of these women would later be involved with raising María Antonia's children who were their half-siblings.

The actual dates of the births of María Antonia's first four children are uncertain, but according to Black, Victoria was born in 1846, Concepción in 1848, Feliciano in 1850, and Refugia in 1852.¹³ The first three children are listed on the census taken in February 1851 with María Antonia, her parents, and her younger brother.¹⁴ The birth years given by Black are reasonably consistent with the children's ages on the censuses taken in February 1851 and



Location of the Little Temecula Rancho in relationship to present-day Temecula in Riverside County. Map by author.

October 1852. On the 1852 census the names of the four children are listed several pages away from the names of María Antonia and other family members.¹⁵ Why the children were not listed near their mother and grandparents is not known.

* * *

In 1840 María Antonia's grandfather Pablo Apis was given approximately 2,200 acres in the Temecula Valley.¹⁶ In 1845 Governor Pío Pico confirmed this grant, which was called the Little Temecula Rancho.¹⁷ The Apis family had lived on the land since at least 1836, if not before. They had an orchard, planting fields, and a pond. They also had livestock.

For many years, one of the most popular routes to California crossed the Little Temecula Rancho. This trail brought many people through the area and in contact with the Apis family, who provided beef and other supplies to the travelers. In February 1851, there were two men listed in the census in the

Apis household after the family members: James Noland from Ireland and James Wilson from Delaware.¹⁸ They were probably passing through as they were listed as having no occupations.

The years between 1846 and 1852, when María Antonia gave birth to her first four children were turbulent times for Indians and others who lived in the area. This was an era of massacres, uprisings, and unrest that were often the result of mistreatment of the Indians.¹⁹ The Pauma Massacre occurred in December 1846 when a group of Indians headed by Manuelito Cota killed eleven people at Agua Caliente.²⁰ It was reported that Pablo Apis was “associated” with Manuelito Cota.²¹ This Pablo Apis was almost certainly Pablito, María Antonia’s father. Pablito was also with Manuelito Cota during the Temecula Massacre in January 1847.²² The number of Indians killed in the Temecula Massacre is not certain, but one report indicated that thirty-eight Indians were killed.²³ Others reported a much higher loss of life.²⁴ While passing through Temecula, the Mormon Battalion observed the Indians burying the dead in the cemetery.²⁵ María Antonia, a young mother at the time, would have been aware of the unrest and the massacres. She would likely have known some of the Indians who were killed in the Temecula Massacre and would have heard stories about her father’s involvement in the hostilities.

Apparently Pablito Apis (and probably Manuelito Cota as well) settled down and gave up their hostile activities within a few years. In the fall of 1851 Antonio Garra, chief of the Cupeños, attempted to unite other Indian tribes to join him in the conflict against the Americans. A report in the *San Diego Herald*, November 27, 1851, indicated that the Temecula Indians, headed by Pablo, had declined to join Antonio Garra, and that they were moving their families and stock from Temecula.²⁶ A week or so later the *Herald* published a letter, dated November 21, written by Pablo Apis in which he said, “we will mix in nothing, always obedient to the laws of the Government” and he indicated plans to go to Mission San Luis Rey “until things are settled.”²⁷ This letter was probably written by Pablo, not Pablito. There had already been several attacks elsewhere when Antonio Garra attacked at Warner Springs on November 27, killing a number of people and destroying considerable property. Pablito Apis did not join Antonio Garra in these uprisings. In Judge Benjamin Hayes’ scrapbooks there is a letter signed by Pablo Apis, dated December 16, 1851, in which he mentions having heard the news that Antonio Garra was being held prisoner.²⁸ On the back of the note someone has written

"Pablito's letter." A few weeks later, January 1, 1852, the *Herald* reported that the San Luis Rey Indians were returning to their villages.²⁹

There are a number of reasons why Pablito might have declined to join Antonio Garra. His relationship with Isaac Williams certainly would have had some influence on him. Several years later an article in the *Los Angeles Star* reported that Isaac Williams had given gifts of cattle and other things to the Indians in 1851 and that none of the Indians who had accepted the gifts participated in the Garra uprising.³⁰ Williams also grazed livestock in the Temecula area for a number of years. In November 1852, the *Star* reported that Isaac Williams had 11,000 sheep at Temecula.³¹ Another reason might have been that the Apis rancho offered a good place to stop for supplies and to spend the night for the increasing number of travelers passing through. Maintaining peace in the area would have been a good decision for the Apis family.

In January 1852, the Treaty of Temecula was signed, reportedly at or near the Apis home.³² Isaac Williams was there and signed the treaty as a witness. It has been noted that Pablo Apis did not sign the document, but this seems understandable because those who did sign represented the individual tribes (e.g., Pauma, Agua Caliente, Pala) within the larger entity of the San Luis Rey Indians. Pablo was reported to have been the chief of the San Luis Rey Indians at the time.

The confusion between the two Pablo Apis men makes it difficult to determine when they died. It appears that the elder Pablo probably died in 1852 between the time the treaty was signed and the census taken in October. Pablito is listed in the October 1852 census as the chief "over all San Luis Indians."³³ Also listed on the census after the names of Pablito, his wife, and children is the name of his mother. There is no listing for his father. It seems that after the death of his father, Pablito assumed the leadership role of his father and that many people never knew the difference.

In 1852 the federal government required that all titles to land grants be confirmed. Attorney Elisha O. Crosby filed the necessary paperwork for Pablo Apis (most likely Pablito) on November 1, 1852.³⁴ He was the same attorney who had filed similar papers for Isaac Williams for Rancho Chino and for many others. A year later the U.S. Land Commission rejected the Apis grant on the basis that the boundaries of the grant had not been established. An appeal was filed in November 1854. This case would continue in the courts until 1872, when it was finally determined that the 1845 grant of the Little Temecula Rancho to Pablo Apis was valid.

It is not certain when María Antonia's father Pablito died, but the events over the next few years suggest that he died in late 1853 or early 1854. The *San Diego Herald* reported on October 22, 1853, that Pablo Apis would be in town that week to see a local doctor.³⁵ In November 1854, the sheriff of San Diego County seized the Apis property for non-payment of taxes.³⁶ The sheriff reported that the land had been assigned for assessment of taxes to Isaac Williams for the year 1854. The property was sold to H. L. Kohn in January 1855 for the taxes due (\$103.64), who then sold it to Isaac Williams in July 1855.³⁷ According to Black, Isaac Williams was away for almost a year, having gone first to San Francisco in July 1854 and then on to the East Coast.³⁸ He returned to San Francisco in May 1855 and then to Chino sometime after that. Therefore, as of July 1855, Isaac Williams was the legal owner of the Apis' Little Temecula Rancho. There is no indication in the deed records that he owned it prior to that time. The first time his name appears on the assessment roll is 1854.³⁹ Perhaps Williams had his name put on the assessment roll for Little Temecula after Pablito died.

Isaac Williams died in September 1856.⁴⁰ In his will, written shortly before his death, he left the bulk of his estate to his two legitimate daughters, Merced and Francesca.⁴¹ He also provided for María Antonia and her family. He gave his interest in Little Temecula Rancho to María Antonia and her younger brother Nepomuceno. He also gave María Antonia 100 sheep and 100 cattle that were in the hands of John Rains as the result of a contract between Rains and Williams signed in October 1854. The remainder of the cattle and sheep that were held by Rains were left to María Antonia's four children: Victoria, Concepción, Feliciano, and Refugia. It would be two years before the estate was settled. Later Rains became the children's trustee.

In addition to his two oldest daughters and María Antonia's four children, Isaac Williams also provided for two more daughters: Francesca and Manuelita. Francesca, with the same name as her older half-sister, was born to María de Jesús Apis in 1846. Although Black wrote that María de Jesús was probably María Antonia's sister, the records indicate that they were most likely cousins.⁴² Isaac's youngest daughter, Manuelita, was born in 1852 to Jesús Villanueva.⁴³

In September 1856 within days of Isaac Williams' death, his seventeen-year-old daughter Merced married John Rains.⁴⁴ John had managed Isaac Williams' sheep and cattle operation in Temecula since 1854 and had been an Indian sub-agent in the Temecula area. He had witnessed Williams sign his

will a month earlier. The following May (1857), Williams' second daughter, sixteen-year-old Francesca, married Robert Carlisle.⁴⁵

On June 30, 1857, María Antonia married David Holman at the Plaza Church in Los Angeles.⁴⁶ They lived in Temecula. The Apis property was listed twice on the tax assessment roll in 1857.⁴⁷ It is listed under María Antonia's name with the notation that her agent, Holman, requested to have it assessed. It is also listed under Rains' name. The home that had been previously referred to as the Apis home was called the Holman Seaman home when a surveyor surveyed the area in 1859. Charles Seaman and David Holman were reported to have been business partners.

In August 1858, María Antonia purchased from her grandmother, María Casilda Apis, and her aunt, María Sefoncia [*sic*] Apis, their interest in the Little Temecula Rancho for \$2,000.⁴⁸ Where María Antonia obtained the money for this purchase and her reasons for making it are not known. One witness to this sale was Charles Seaman. The other witness was John Magee, to whom María Antonia would lease some property the following year.

Isaac Williams' estate was settled in 1858.⁴⁹ The report was submitted in June 1858, and the details were described by Judge Benjamin Hayes in November 1858. Hayes reported that Little Temecula had been given to María Antonia. The executor's report noted that María Antonia and María Jesús were "of Indian blood and incompetent and unsuitable to have the guardianship" of their children. María Antonia's children had already been placed with Merced Williams Rains, according to Judge Hayes' November 1858 notes.⁵⁰

The next few years must have been especially difficult for María Antonia. She reportedly had two children with David Holman.⁵¹ The first, a son, probably died in infancy. The second child, a girl named Anna or Anita, was born in the spring of 1859. On March 21, 1859, with the assistance of the Indian agent, the Temecula Indians filed a lawsuit in County Court against David Holman and Charles Seaman, claiming they had taken land from them. The Indians were appealing an earlier decision by a local magistrate.⁵² The local magistrate had set apart some land for the Indians, but they were not happy with the decision. The county judge appointed George Pendleton as commissioner to go to Temecula to identify land to be set aside for the Indians. On April 23, 1859, Commissioner Pendleton reported that he decided to set aside some other land for the Indians rather than the small parcel (7 to 8



Plaza Church in Los Angeles, from Judge Hayes Diary, before 1860.
María Antonia Apis and David Holman were married there in 1859.

*Courtesy of University of Southern California,
on behalf of the USC Specialized Libraries and Archival Collections.*

acres) that was under dispute. He reported that the Indians were satisfied with the decision on this matter.

Less than two months later, David Holman died. According to a death notice in *The Sacramento Daily Bee*, he passed away in Temecula on June 18, 1859.⁵³ David and María Antonia had been married about two years. A few weeks later, their four-month-old daughter Anita was baptized at the Plaza Church on July 7.⁵⁴ The record of her baptism includes the words “with Merced Williams.” This leads us to more questions: Was María Antonia there also? Did the baby stay with Merced?

A deed, a lease, and a mortgage involving the Apis family were all recorded within three months of Holman’s death. Nine days after he died, Rains purchased from María Antonia’s cousin, María de Jesús Apis, and her aunt, Juana Apis, their interest in Little Temecula for \$200.⁵⁵ In August 1859, María Antonia leased approximately a half-acre to John Magee for \$5 a month for a period

of five years.⁵⁶ Apparently there was a home or other structure on the half-acre parcel because the lease referred to an addition that Magee was to build. On September 14, 1859, María Antonia borrowed \$1,200 from John Rains and mortgaged the Little Temecula Rancho.⁵⁷ Why María Antonia did this or what she used the money for is unknown. Now many years later, looking back on this transaction, it seems that this must have been the point where she lost any chance of retaining the Little Temecula Rancho.

In November 1859, María Antonia married John Place, a widower.⁵⁸ The marriage had problems almost from the start, and María Antonia filed for divorce in the spring 1860.⁵⁹ In her statement prepared by her attorney, she mentioned her five children, including an eleven-month-old Anna (Anita). She also mentioned her nine-year-old brother. She reported that Place committed adultery with a woman named Miquela in December 1859 (a month after their marriage). She also stated that he treated her "with extreme cruelty, by inhumanly beating and striking her, hauling her by the hair with violence along the highway, and threatening her with a knife."⁶⁰ She detailed her assets in terms of livestock and equipment valued at \$1,500, but did not mention land or a house. María Antonia requested that most of her assets be placed in the hands of a receiver to protect them from John Place because he was attempting to take possession of her property. In the summer of 1860, several depositions were taken for the divorce action. In his deposition, Louis Rouen, a Temecula blacksmith, testified that María Antonia and John Place had come to his place for the purpose of having him translate for them.⁶¹ According to Rouen, John wanted María Antonia to give him \$300 and he would leave. When she wouldn't agree to this, John "got mad and caught hold of her violently and shoved her out of the shop and kicked her and struck her side of the head and knocked her over." Rouen continued to describe how John caught María Antonia as she tried to get away. In September 1860, Judge Hayes granted the divorce with an interesting provision: María Antonia was free to marry again "in the same manner as though the said defendant was actually dead," but John Place could not marry again until "the complainant was actually dead."⁶²

In the 1860 census, María Antonia is listed in Temecula with four other people.⁶³ There is no indication that any of her children or her brother were with her. The value of her real estate was given as \$2,000, and the value of her personal estate is listed as \$2,000.

María Antonia apparently visited her children at Rancho Chino and later

at Rancho Cucamonga. Judge Hayes wrote in his diary on February 22, 1861, that while he was at Rancho Chino, John Rains pointed out María Antonia with three of her children.⁶⁴ Judge Hayes added that María Antonia had been married twice since Isaac Williams died and John told him that “the education of the children is amply provided for in the will and is a permanent lien on the land.”⁶⁵ Was Rains referring to the mortgage he held on Little Temecula?

There is little information about María Antonia after the divorce other than Judge Hayes’ comment, but she did have another daughter, Amanda, probably in 1861 or 1862.⁶⁶ The father of that child, named Amada, was George Kauffman, who lived in San Bernardino County near Merced Williams Rains and Francesca Williams Carlisle.

María Antonia died in May 1863.⁶⁷ References to her death appeared years later in several legal documents because María Antonia had not repaid the mortgage that John Rains held on the Little Temecula Rancho. Rains was murdered in November 1862, and the mortgage was transferred to his widow Merced. Later the mortgage went to Merced’s sister Francesca and eventually to John Magee. In December 1866, Magee petitioned the Probate Court to appoint an administrator to settle María Antonia’s estate.⁶⁸ V. C. Reche was appointed, but he did not settle the estate before he died many years later.

In 1868 John Magee obtained a judgment to collect on the loan that mortgaged Little Temecula.⁶⁹ The defendants were María Antonia’s children and their guardians. The record of the lawsuit is lengthy, but the end result was that Little Temecula was sold at a sheriff’s sale to Magee for the amount of the loan plus interest. Because the family owed him that same amount, the money was returned to Magee and he ended up with Little Temecula as well as getting his money back.

There are some records relating to her four oldest children after María Antonia’s death. Her three daughters grew up and were married, but it seems that her son Feliciano (also possibly known as Francisco) probably died when he was young. According to Black, the last reference to Feliciano was in 1866.⁷⁰ He was mentioned in the lawsuit John Magee filed, but that does not necessarily mean that he was still alive at the time.

In two letters written to Judge Hayes by Merced Williams Rains in 1864, she referred to the death of “Chonita’s little sister” who apparently was living on a neighboring rancho.⁷¹ Chonita was the nickname for Concepción Wil-

liams, María Antonia's second daughter. The little sister who died would have been five-year-old Anita Holman, the daughter born to María Antonia and David Holman. What became of María Antonia's youngest child, Amada Kauffman, is unknown. In the 1866 probate file, she is reported to be in the "care and custody of Jose Antonio Prieto and his wife."⁷²

María Antonia's life was unique and more complicated than most, but many of the things she went through are typical of what other Indians experienced in the mid-1800s. The use of a wide variety of archival records in María Antonia's story contributes to a better understanding of her life and of the lives of other Indians during that difficult period in southern California history.

NOTES

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²Esther Boulton Black, *Rancho Cucamonga and Doña Merced* (Redlands, CA: San Bernardino County Museum Association, 1975), 157.

³*Ibid.*, 157.

⁴Mission records for San Luis Rey (Microfilm, Genealogical Society of Utah, 1972); John R. Johnson and Dinah Crawford, "Contributions to Luiseño Ethnohistory Based on Mission Research," *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 35 (1999): 79-102.

⁵U.S. Census of 1850, San Diego County, California.

⁶Horace Parker, *The Temecula Massacre* (Temecula, CA: Paisano Press, 1971), 12.

⁷*Ibid.*, 12.

⁸Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols., San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Company, 1884-1890), III: 623-624, n. 17; Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Luis Rey Mission* (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company, 1921), 104-105.

⁹Engelhardt, *San Luis Rey Mission*, 102-103.

¹⁰*Don Pio Pico's Historical Narrative*, trans. by Arthur P. Botello, ed. by Martin Cole and Henry Welcome (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1973), 91-93.

¹¹Black, *Rancho Cucamonga*, 145.

¹²*Ibid.*, 226.

¹³*Ibid.*, 145.

¹⁴U.S. Census of 1850.

¹⁵1852 California Census, San Diego County (Microfilm, Genealogical Society of Utah, 1972).

¹⁶U.S. Land Commission, Case No. 55, "Temecula" (Pablo Apis), Southern District (1852-1871), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

¹⁷Deed from Pico to Apis, May 7, 1845, recorded January 14, 1851, Book. C, p. 219, San Diego County Recorder's Office.

¹⁸U.S. Census of 1850.

¹⁹Richard L. Carrico, *Strangers in a Stolen Land: American Indians in San Diego, 1850-1880* (Newcastle, CA: Sierra Oaks Publishing Company, 1987), 18-36.

²⁰George Harwood Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), 48-49.

²¹Millard F. Hudson, "The Pauma Massacre," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California and the Tenth Annual Publication of the Pioneers of Los Angeles County* VII (1906): 15.

²²Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers*, 49-50.

²³*Ibid.*, 62.

- ²⁴Parker, *Temecula Massacre*, 20.
- ²⁵Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War: 1846–1848* (1881; reprint, with intro. by Harold Schindler, Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1966), 251.
- ²⁶*San Diego Herald*, November 27, 1851.
- ²⁷*Ibid.*, December 11, 1851.
- ²⁸Benjamin Hayes, *Scraps*, Vol. 36: 154. Bancroft Library.
- ²⁹*San Diego Herald*, January 1, 1852.
- ³⁰*Los Angeles Star*, March 8, 1856.
- ³¹*Ibid.*, November 13, 1852.
- ³²Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers*, 120–121.
- ³³1852 California Census, San Diego County.
- ³⁴U.S. Land Commission, Case No. 55.
- ³⁵*San Diego Herald*, October 22, 1853.
- ³⁶Deed from Sexton to Kohn, January 20, 1855, recorded August 30, 1855, Book E, p. 352, San Diego County Recorder's Office.
- ³⁷Deed from Kohn to Williams, July 30, 1855, recorded August 30, 1855, Book E, p. 353, San Diego County Recorder's Office.
- ³⁸Black, *Rancho Cucamonga*, 242–243.
- ³⁹Tax Assessment Rolls, San Diego County, San Diego Historical Society Research Archives (hereinafter cited SDHSRA).
- ⁴⁰*Los Angeles Star*, September 20, 1856.
- ⁴¹Probate Records, San Bernardino County Archives.
- ⁴²Black, *Rancho Cucamonga*, 249.
- ⁴³*Ibid.*, 145.
- ⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 1–20.
- ⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 23.
- ⁴⁶Los Angeles Plaza Church Records, Book I, page 46, No. 438.
- ⁴⁷Tax Assessment Rolls.
- ⁴⁸Deed from Apis and Apis to Apis, August 31, 1858, recorded September 2, 1858, Book 1, p. 258, San Diego County Recorder's Office.
- ⁴⁹Black, *Rancho Cucamonga*, 24.
- ⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 25.
- ⁵¹Probate Orders and Decrees, San Diego County, SDHSRA.
- ⁵²Florence Shipek, "Documents of San Diego History: A Unique Case: Temecula Indians vs. Holman and Seaman," *Journal of San Diego History* 15 (Spring 1969): 26–32.
- ⁵³*The Sacramento Daily Bee*, July 8, 1859.
- ⁵⁴Baptismal Records for Plaza Church, Los Angeles.
- ⁵⁵Deed from Apis and Apis to Rains, June 27, 1859, recorded June 30, 1859, Book 1, p. 329, San Diego County Recorder's Office.
- ⁵⁶Lease between Apis and Magee, August 30, 1859, recorded November 9, 1859, Book 1, p. 352, San Diego County Recorder's Office.
- ⁵⁷Loan/Mortgage between Apis and Rains, September 14, 1859, recorded September 30 1859, Mortgages 1:66–69, San Diego County Recorder's Office.
- ⁵⁸Mission San Diego Records, San Diego.
- ⁵⁹*Place v. Place*, First Judicial District of the State of California, SDHSRA.
- ⁶⁰*Ibid.*
- ⁶¹*Ibid.*
- ⁶²*Ibid.*
- ⁶³U.S. Census of 1860, San Diego County.
- ⁶⁴Benjamin Hayes, *Pioneer Notes: from the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes*, ed. Marjorie Tisdale Wolcott (Los Angeles: Marjorie Wolcott, 1929), 218.
- ⁶⁵*Ibid.*
- ⁶⁶*Magee v. Bridger, et al.*, Case Files—Civil and Criminal, SDHSRA.

⁶⁷Probate Orders and Decrees. Ibid.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹*Magee v. Bridger, et al.*

⁷⁰Black, *Rancho Cucamonga*, 146.

⁷¹Rains to Hayes, April 6 and April 14, 1864. Hayes, *Scraps*. Vol 14: 146-147.

⁷²Probate Orders and Decrees, SDHSRA.

DESIGNER OF THE DREAM:

Cliff May and the California Ranch House

By Mary A. van Balgooy

In 1934 *Architectural Digest* published another edition presenting beautiful black-and-white photographs of elegant houses and imposing buildings by prominent southern California architects. This particular issue included works by Gordon B. Kaufmann, designer of buildings such as the Athenaeum at the California Institute of Technology (1930), Denison Library at Scripps College (1930), and the Times Mirror Building in Los Angeles (1931–1935); George Washington Smith, renowned for his Spanish colonial revival style homes in and around Santa Barbara, Bel Air, and Pasadena; and Wallace Neff, noted for his Spanish colonial revival houses in Bel Air and the Pasadena area.¹ In addition to these well-known architects, the magazine also featured a house designed by Cliff May, who had no architectural training and little building experience. Moreover, the home included in this publication was only the second house May had designed and built. But it would mark the beginning of a long and prolific architectural career for May. When he died in 1989 at the age of eighty-one, he had designed numerous commercial buildings, over one thousand custom homes, and several tract house plans resulting in more than eighteen thousand tract houses.² But out of all of his work, this southern California native is best known and remembered for developing the suburban dream home of the 1940s and 1950s—the California ranch house (Fig. 1).

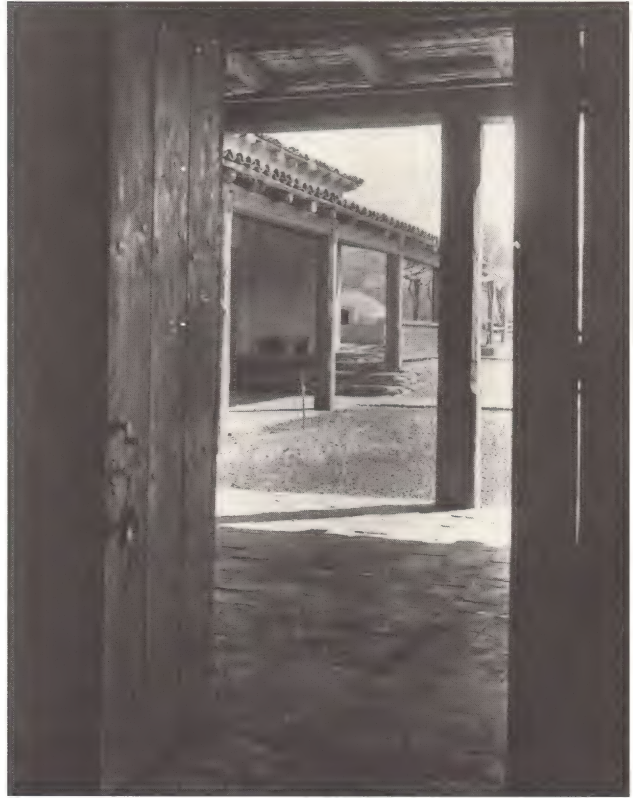
Cliff May's family background and childhood greatly influenced his work. Born to Beatrice Magee and Charles Clifford May in 1908 in San Diego, May was a sixth-generation Californian through his mother, a descendent of the distinguished Estudillo and de Pedrorena families of San Diego. Both fami-



Fig. 1. Cliff May and his family at their Riviera Ranch home in the April 1946 issue of *House Beautiful*.

lies not only had served in a number of important military, political, economic, and social positions under Spanish, Mexican, and American rule, but also had owned several large ranchos in present-day San Diego and Riverside counties. In addition, they had owned land in Old Town San Diego, and it is here that they had built their main residences: Casa de Estudillo and Casa de Pedrorena. Built after 1845, Casa de Pedrorena was one of the first frame houses in Old Town. Casa de Estudillo, on the other hand, was constructed almost twenty years earlier as a one-story, U-shaped adobe house that was common in southern California throughout most of the nineteenth century. By the twentieth century both families' vast ranchos had disappeared and only their town houses had survived.³ Furthermore, the Estudillo House was restored as a museum in 1910 and publicized as "Ramona's Marriage Place," becoming part of the growing movement to preserve the romance of California's rancho days.⁴ Thus, as the young May grew up in San Diego, he could easily visit the former houses of his California ancestors.

Fig. 2. The Estudillo House in San Diego built about 1825. Photograph taken after restoration in 1910. May's early houses reflect the style and feel of this house with its red tile roof, coarsely plastered walls, rough-hewn posts and beams, hand-carved doors, exterior corredor, and courtyard. *Courtesy San Diego Historical Society.*



May became familiar with two other nineteenth-century ranch houses during his youth, too. His aunt, Jane Magee, operated a lima bean farm on Rancho Santa Margarita y Las Flores in Oceanside. Once belonging to Pío Pico and his brother, Andrés, the rancho included two houses by the time the Magee family leased the property in the 1880s: the Rancho Santa Margarita and Las Flores Adobe. Rancho Santa Margarita, built in succession over time in the nineteenth century, is a traditional U-shaped adobe house, while the Las Flores Adobe, built after 1865, is in the Monterey style. It was on this farm that May spent many summers with his aunt, living in the Las Flores Adobe and next to the Rancho Santa Margarita.⁵ As seen in May's writings and designs, these two ranch houses, in addition to the Estudillo House, would profoundly shape his ideas on the ranch house of the twentieth century (Fig. 2).

Even though May excelled in music as a pianist and saxophonist, he followed his father's wishes and in 1929 enrolled at San Diego State College as

a business major. However, he left college after two years primarily because of the economic realities of the Great Depression and "to be on his own."⁶ To support himself, May began to design and build furniture, a trade he learned as a young man from his parents' neighbors, the Styris family, who were professional furniture makers.⁷

May designed his furniture in the latest style of the 1920s—Monterey style. Monterey was originally created by Frank Mason and his son George for the Los Angeles-based home-furnishing company, Barker Brothers. Influenced by the Arts and Crafts Movement, early forms of Monterey (1929–1932) are similar to Mission-style furniture except that Monterey is finished with paint, hand-painted flowers, California tile, wrought-iron strapping, and rope decoration.⁸

To sell his work as well as obtain commissions, May placed his furniture in a new house for sale. When the house sold, in part because of the furniture, May installed his furniture into another new house on the market and, to his delight, that house quickly sold, too. After experiencing such admiration for his furniture, May decided to design and build a house himself and worked out an agreement with real estate developer and his future father-in-law Roy C. Lichty.⁹ Lichty, who owned several lots in San Diego that he could not readily sell because of the Great Depression, agreed to put up land and money for May to build a house. In return, May would provide the labor, and, if the house sold, they would split the profits in half.¹⁰ May drew up the plans and with the help of a master carpenter built his first house in 1932 in Talmadge Park, San Diego.¹¹ Filled with May's handcrafted Monterey furniture, the house sold for \$9,500 to Colonel Arthur J. O'Leary.¹²

May built his second house in 1933 with financial backing from a local grading contractor, O.U. Miracle.¹³ The house sold for \$9,500 to Captain William Lindstrom.¹⁴ A year later, *Architectural Digest* featured Lindstrom's house in its 1934 issue. For a young man in his twenties, May was beginning to enjoy phenomenal success as a builder of houses. In fact, soon after the Lindstrom house appeared in *Architectural Digest*, other magazines featured May's houses, including *American Home*, *California Arts & Architecture*, and *Sunset*.¹⁵

By 1937 May had constructed over fifty houses and several non-residential buildings in the San Diego area.¹⁶ His early houses were very much based on the nineteenth-century ranch houses he had come to know in his childhood. Generally, May designed his houses as asymmetrical, one-story dwellings with a low-pitched roof and wide overhanging eaves. One room

deep, it was crucial that the house take an L- or U-shaped configuration to form a patio or courtyard in the back so that the rooms of the ranch house faced or opened into these areas. Like the California adobes of the nineteenth century, May's houses did not include an interior hallway. Instead an exterior *corredor*, or covered veranda, served as the primary hallway of the house (Fig. 3). May also designed his houses so that they presented a blank façade to the street; however, he modernized his ranch houses with the use of large picture windows for the rooms facing the back.

May built his houses in two styles. His "Mexican Haciendas" were in the Spanish colonial revival style and featured red tile roofs, coarsely plastered walls, and deeply inset windows and doors with rough-hewn wooden lintels and shutters. By deliberately creating a crude, handcrafted appearance on the exterior of his haciendas, May designed his houses to be very similar in look and feel to nineteenth-century California adobes such as the Estudillo House

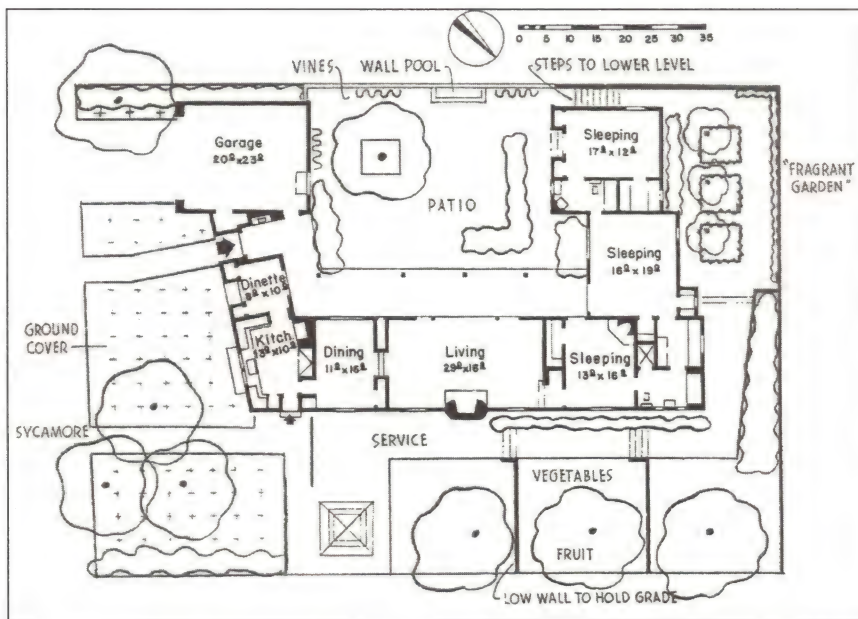


Fig. 3. A 1930s floor plan by Cliff May from *Sunset Western Ranch Houses* (1946).

Influenced by nineteenth-century California adobe houses as well as the Spanish colonial revival style, May designed this house in the shape of a U to form a courtyard. On the left between the garage and dinette, an arrow indicates the front entrance. One room deep, the exterior *corredor* served as the hallway for the house. *Courtesy Sunset Publishing Corporation.*



Fig. 4. A "Mexican Hacienda" by Cliff May in 1934 from *Sunset Western Ranch Houses* (1946). As seen in this illustration, May's Mexican haciendas were in the Spanish colonial revival style with their red tile roofs, coarsely plastered walls, and deeply inset windows and doors with rough-hewn wooden lintels and shutters.

Courtesy Sunset Publishing Corporation.

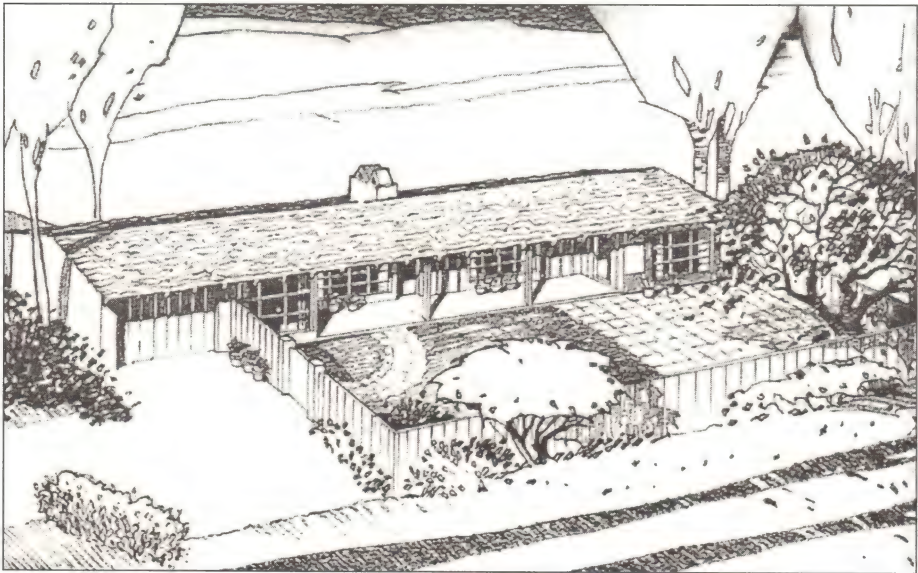


Fig. 5. An "Early California Rancheria" by Cliff May in 1939 from *Sunset Western Ranch Houses* (1946). As seen in this illustration, May's California rancherias resembled the vernacular architecture of the nineteenth-century West with their wood-shingle roofs, board-and-batten walls, and multi-light windows. *Courtesy Sunset Publishing Corporation.*

in San Diego (Fig. 4). In contrast, his "Early California Rancherías" resembled the vernacular architecture of the West in the nineteenth century with their wood-shingle roofs and board-and-batten walls (Fig. 5).¹⁷ Clearly, both styles worked well for May, and he continued to elaborate on them after he moved to Los Angeles during this period.

When May moved to Los Angeles in 1938, on the advice and help of John A. Smith, a former client, his career flourished.¹⁸ Smith not only provided May with financial backing from his firm, the First National Finance Corporation of Los Angeles, but also introduced him to Alphonzo Bell, real estate developer of Bel Air during the teens and twenties. With Bell's advice and Smith's money, May bought land in West Los Angeles and began his first major tract development.¹⁹ Called Riviera Ranch, the tract consisted of twenty-four homes on $\frac{2}{3}$ - to 1-acre parcels of land starting at \$15,000. May advertised his development as "Exclusive Early California Ranches in a Planned Community on the last of the Great California Ranchos, San Vicente y Santa Monica."²⁰ Each house, he claimed, recreated "the romantic charm of early-day California Ranch life" but with all of the modern conveniences.²¹ One-story and shaped in a splayed U, the Riviera Ranch houses consisted of three or more bedrooms, two bathrooms, a living room, dining room, kitchen, and sunroom. They also had several outdoor patio areas and a garage. The style of the houses reflected May's work in San Diego. Buyers could choose between a "hacienda" and "rancheria." But more importantly, May specifically added other elements to this tract development to create "a rancho atmosphere." Each home included stables, a tack room and paddock for horses; a hand-split redwood rail fence surrounding the lot; and a "ranch" gate which opened to a driveway, horse stables, and paths leading to various horse trails May formed through the development. In addition, May built a home here for his family that was featured in several magazines including *Architectural Digest*, *Architectural Forum*, *House Beautiful*, *House and Garden*, and *Sunset*, and in both of *Sunset's* Western ranch house books (Fig. 6).²² Moreover, he used his house as a model for designing over fifty custom homes.²³

Although May continued to design houses for middle-to-upper-class clients, he also began to design for another profitable and large segment of the building market—the average American family. After examining the residential construction market in 1939, *Architectural Forum* selected one of May's recently built houses as a "satisfactory low cost house."²⁴ The house, under 1,000 square feet, consisted of a living room, kitchen, dining room, two bedrooms and a bath at a cost of \$3,550—a price, according to *Architectural Forum*, that met "the \$35-a-month budget of the average U.S. citizen in the average



Fig. 6. Cliff May's "Riviera Ranch House" in 1949 in West Los Angeles, California. Built in the "rancheria" style in 1939, May's house for his family was used as a model to design over fifty custom homes. *Courtesy Maynard Parker Collection, Huntington Library.*

U.S. community."²⁵ Unfortunately most American families would have to wait to enjoy such a home for World War II curtailed the construction of houses. May, like other architects at the time, turned his attention to designing housing for defense workers.²⁶

Once the war ended, the housing market had reached a critical situation. Residential construction had fallen far behind due to depression and war.²⁷ Millions of families needed homes, and it was in this atmosphere that the ranch house grew extremely popular and Cliff May enjoyed incredible success. Although many magazines would publicize May's ranch designs, two major magazines in particular promoted him so that he became recognized as the leading designer of ranch houses in the 1940s and 1950s in the United States.²⁸

Sunset magazine was May's first major promoter. After World War II, *Sunset* was the top selling magazine in and of the West. Each month *Sunset* presented topics for its male and female readers on travel, food, houses, and gardens.²⁹ Beginning in 1944 *Sunset* devoted several major articles to the ranch house and Cliff May.³⁰ In 1946, *Sunset* magazine published *Sunset Western Ranch Houses* in collaboration with May. The book consisted of forty-three

Fig. 7. In its July 1946 issue, *Sunset Magazine* featured this full-page ad for *Sunset Western Ranch Houses*. As one of *Sunset*'s first books to be produced in a large format with a hard-cover, the book did well: 50,000 copies sold and *Sunset* published three more editions.

Here's the book you've been waiting for...

You'll find ideas galore in *Sunset*'s new, thorough treatment of the ranch house subject. Here the ranch house is colorfully portrayed as a type of architecture particularly suited to indoor-outdoor living... adaptable to city or suburb, small family or large... constructed of a miscellany of materials... full of tradition, but modern as tomorrow.

Here are sample inside pages of the *Ranch House* book

Sunset Western Ranch Houses \$3

It's easy to expand the ranch house

SUNSET WESTERN RANCH HOUSES includes plans for numerous authentic living. Development of design, construction, and building in color and black and white. Plans and sections. The book shows designs in an elegant and modern style. Detailed sections, and in this way, it also shows how to build a ranch house. The book shows how to build a ranch house. The book shows how to build a ranch house.

This handsome, cloth-bound book has 160 pages, check-full of

- ✓ Plans for 45 different ranch houses.
- ✓ Over 100 detailed interior and exterior sketches.
- ✓ Floor and landscaping plans in two colors.
- ✓ More than 75 photographs to give you indoor-outdoor ideas.

Another new *Sunset* book for handy reference

Selected plans for houses featured in *Sunset* during the last five years are bound under one cover for your convenience! Ninety-six page book includes floor plans - photographs both inside and out... full descriptive matter. AT NEWSSTANDS, TOO.

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ranch house plans designed by various architects and builders. However, Cliff May's work dominated with at least seventeen designs.³¹ *Sunset Western Ranch Houses* found instant success: 50,000 copies sold and it went through four printings (Fig. 7).³²

Throughout the late 1940s and into the 1950s, *Sunset* continued to promote May's ranch houses in magazine articles and by hiring him in 1951 to design its new corporate headquarters in Menlo Park. When its 30,000 square-foot "suburban Western home" was completed, *Sunset* offered daily tours to the public and actively publicized it in its magazine.³³ Clearly, May was one of the magazine's favorite builders because in 1958, when *Sunset* produced one more book on Western ranch houses, it featured only Cliff May's designs.³⁴

Sunset magazine may have launched the ranch style and May's designs in the West. It was *House Beautiful*, however, that gave May's ranch houses



Fig. 8. Front entry of the Pace-Setter House. Boasting that this design would set the pace for all other houses, the article begins: "Seldom is there a house so well thought out and so soundly executed that *House Beautiful* feels enthusiastic enough to sponsor it, decorate it, and exhibit it. But here is just such a house. It embodies basic principles which epitomize the best thinking of our times. These principles, if scaled down in size or slightly adapted in plan or specification, can apply to all pocketbooks, all climates. Study how it can better your living. Above all, try to visualize the social values that such a house represents. For houses and people are inseparable." After exhibiting the house, *House Beautiful* sold it. The house still stands today in Los Angeles and is a private residence. Courtesy Maynard Parker Collection, Huntington Library.

national attention. A Hearst magazine dedicated to home design and decoration, *House Beautiful* first did a full-length feature on Cliff May in 1946. Titled "Meet a Family That Really Knows How to Live," the 26-page article focused on how May and his family lived in their Riviera Ranch home.³⁵ But it was in 1948 that *House Beautiful* advanced May's career when it built one of his ranch designs in Los Angeles. *House Beautiful* not only devoted a full issue to the "Pace-Setter House," but also let the public tour the home it decorated, furnished, and landscaped (Fig. 8).³⁶ The house, like *Sunset Western Ranch Houses*, was an instant success with the public. After the article was published, May received twenty commissions to build this design all over the United States.³⁷

With all of the attention May received after the war, it is important to ask why the ranch house appealed so much to the postwar generation. Certainly, magazines played a major role with their admiring articles on the ranch house.³⁸ Movie stars like Olivia de Havilland and Gregory Peck, who lived in ranch homes, also added to its attraction.³⁹ The ranch house with its ram-

bling, open plan and walls of windows became associated with “the California way of life” of living casually, comfortably, and out-of-doors. After living in cramped accommodations, often with relatives, the ranch house provided immediate relief, for it offered wide, open spaces indoors and out all year round without the rigid formalities associated with other house styles. And one did not need to live in California to enjoy ranch house living. As long as a family lived in a ranch house built with the latest technological advances in heating and cooling, it could enjoy ranch house living anywhere in the United States.⁴⁰

And May designed what the public wanted. By the 1940s, he had largely abandoned the formal Spanish colonial revival style. Instead, he expanded on the vernacular architecture of the nineteenth-century West on the exterior of his houses with International Modern ideas for the interior. Hence, during this period, May’s houses were typically one-story dwellings with low-pitched, wood-shingle roofs and board-and-batten walls. On the interior, his houses were designed with free-flowing open plans, walls of windows (the larger size as well as quantity), and indoor spaces connected to the outdoors by the use of the same paving materials inside and out, extension of indoor planters to the outdoors, and arrangement of sliding glass doors leading into the backyard garden.⁴¹

In 1952, May’s ranch houses became available on a much wider basis for the middle-class American family. May, along with his associate architect Chris Choate, designed a suburban tract house (Fig. 9). A subdivision using the plan was then built in Cupertino.⁴² Because of the success of this project, May and Choate formed the Ranch House Supply Corporation in 1953 to sell their designs in California to licensed builders. Success struck again. Before the year was out, May and Choate had sold their plans to nearly thirty builders throughout California. Thus, May and Choate expanded their company in 1954 to include the West and southern areas of the United States.⁴³

May’s success as a suburban tract designer continued with the “Magic-Money House.” In 1953, the W & J Sloane Furniture Company constructed, furnished, and landscaped this ranch design on the roof of its six-story Beverly Hills store building.⁴⁴ Advertised as a house for “young people with young incomes,” the two-bedroom model house was visited by an estimated 35,000 only four months after its opening. As a result, W & J Sloane built another Magic-Money House for its store in San Francisco. But this was not the only promotion that May received for the house. As W & J Sloane promoted the design, several subdivisions of Magic-Money Houses were built throughout California. By 1954 over one thousand Magic-Money Houses had been built.

Moreover, the house received additional recognition when it was selected for exhibition at the Ninth Annual Los Angeles Home Show in June 1954.⁴⁵

As the Magic-Money House grew in popularity so did Cliff May and the ranch house. In 1955, more than eight out of ten tract houses built in the United States were in the ranch style with Cliff May the leading designer.⁴⁶ May could not only point to the number of ranch houses and non-residential buildings he designed and built, but also to the professional appointments he served and awards he received. From 1940–1950 May was president of the Los Angeles division of the Building Contractors Association and from 1946–1952 a staff consultant to *House Beautiful* magazine. In 1947, 1952, and 1953, May won design awards from the National Association of Home Builders. Later he received an Award of Merit for Residential Design and Construction from *House and Home* in 1956 and the “Hallmark House” award from *House and Garden* in 1958.⁴⁷ But, by far, May’s greatest success occurred when *Sunset* magazine produced a second Western ranch house book that featured his work exclusively—an accomplishment few architects have achieved.



Fig. 9. Cliff May's first ranch-style tract design which appeared in the November 1952 issue of *Sunset* magazine. In that same year, a subdivision using the plan was built in Cupertino. Because of the success of the project, May formed the Ranch House Supply Corporation with his associate architect, Chris Choate, to sell tract designs to licensed builders.

Western Ranch Houses by Cliff May presents a broad sampling of May's postwar work as well as the evolution of his Modernist ideas toward housing. The most important and creative of these are the ranch houses he designed for his family. In 1949, May remodeled his Riviera Ranch House in West Los Angeles, expanding on the indoor-outdoor living concept by replacing fixed windows with sliding glass doors and enlarging the patio area in the backyard.⁴⁸ However, May went even further with "bringing the outdoors in" as well as with the idea of open planning when he built an "Experimental House" for his family in the early 1950s.

A bold design, this house was a one-story, rectangular plan with a 288-square-foot open skylight down the center of the roof, glass walls, and only three interior walls for two bathrooms and a kitchen. May's family of five formed different rooms through the use of movable partitions to utilize the approximately 1,800 square feet of living space. The family lived in the house for two years while May learned how his open plan and sizeable skylight worked for them.⁴⁹ From their experiences May designed and built "Mandalay," his last home for his family.

Mandalay integrated the design of the Experimental House with May's latest thinking on the ranch style and Modernist ideas. Built in Sullivan Canyon in West Los Angeles in 1956, Mandalay was designed as a one-story dwelling with wings projecting at right angles from a central spine (Fig. 10).⁵⁰ He covered the low-pitched roofs with pebbles from a California creek bed, and in two sections he cut skylights extending from one end of the roof to the other. He also extensively utilized glass walls, sliding glass windows, and indoor/outdoor planters—all design elements used in the Experimental House. In addition, May added a new concept to the idea of bringing the outdoors in. Not only did he use the same paving materials inside and out but also the same ceiling and wall materials. Wooden roof beams and rafters as well as board-and-batten and white-plastered walls flowed from the outdoors in (Fig. 11). Moreover, May included radiant heating in the patio terraces and outdoor lighting, ideas that he used in his other homes to make the outdoors feel as part of the indoors at night.

May combined open planning with private spaces for the family. For this large house, consisting of 6,300 square feet, May designed the entry, kitchen, and living, dining, and family rooms as one open area with no intervening doors. However, in creating spaces for the bedrooms, dressing rooms, and bathrooms, May did not make use of partitions as he had in the Experimental House. Instead, he built interior walls and doors to provide privacy for these rooms.



Fig. 10. The floor plan of Mandalay, May's last house that he designed for his family from *Western Ranch Houses* by Cliff May (1958). A complex plan, May designed a central spine with wings projecting at right angles to form courtyards on both sides of the house. It also included a 1,600 square-foot living room and dining room with oversized furniture.

Courtesy Sunset Publishing Corporation.

What is most interesting about Mandalay were May's ideas about the ranch style. Although May designed the house as an asymmetrical, one-story dwelling, the plan was complex, forming courtyards on both sides of the house rather than having the main courtyard in the center. The roof was low-pitched with wide overhanging eaves but covered with rock rather than wood shingles. May included board-and-batten as well as white-plastered walls but felt that he needed to give the house "a sophisticated touch of the [Spanish] past." To achieve such a worldly look, he added Spanish, Mexican, and French architectural crafts and decorative elements: a sixteenth-century Gothic grille, historic doors, lighting fixtures, wrought-iron door handles, and antiquated books.⁵¹ Indeed, May's California ranch house of the 1950s resembled a Contemporary Modern house rather than a nineteenth-century California adobe that he once strove to emulate in the 1930s.

Fig. 11. Front entry of Mandalay in 1953. For his last family home, May used the same ceiling, wall, and paving materials in addition to a large skylight extending across the roof to create an indoor-outdoor atmosphere. May would remodel the house thirteen times before he died. The house was demolished in 1994. *Courtesy of Julius Shulman.*



Throughout the rest of his life, Cliff May would continue to design award-winning houses and non-residential buildings, including the famous Robert Mondavi Winery building that has appeared on Mondavi wine bottle labels since the 1960s.⁵² Yet, May was more than a designer of ranch houses and commercial buildings. He was an innovator too. During his career he developed new flooring, heating, cooling, lighting, and wall systems. He also experimented with modular and prefabricated construction after World War II.⁵³ And he continued to design and build furniture.⁵⁴ But because May did not become a licensed architect until 1988, a year before he died, he never received recognition for his designs or innovations by the profession's association, the American Institute of Architects.⁵⁵ In addition, although scholars recognized May's contribution for developing the California ranch house, the style itself was generally considered a vernacular rather than an exceptional or signifi-

cant architectural style, and thus, not truly worthy of a lengthy study. However, this is beginning to change.

The California ranch house has reached its fiftieth anniversary, prompting a growing fascination in this "new" historic architectural style and Cliff May. Indeed, local historical groups have begun to arrange lectures about May and organize tours to view his works. Hennessey & Ingalls, a company that specializes in republishing "classic" architectural books, recently reprinted *Sunset Western Ranch Houses* and *Western Ranch Houses* by Cliff May, making them available again to the general public. Two of May's houses—the Lindstrom House and Experimental House—were recently listed as historic landmarks.⁵⁶ Most of all, historians are now seriously researching the ranch style and interpreting it as the significant architectural style of the 1940s and 1950s. As a result, they are recognizing Cliff May not only for defining the California ranch house but also as the major designer of the American dream home of the 1940s and 1950s—a style that is still built extensively today.

NOTES

¹Architectural Digest IX [1934]. For more information on these architects and their designs, see David Gebhard and Robert Winter, *Architecture in Los Angeles: A Compleat Guide* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1985), 18, 122, 232, 339, 375, 415.

²May's career spanned almost sixty years. Sam Hall Kaplan, "Cliff May: Designer of Dream Houses," *Los Angeles Times*, 29 October 1989, sec. K; Brendan Gill, "Remembering Cliff May," *Architectural Digest* 48 (May 1991): 30.

³David Bricker, "Cliff May" in *Toward a Simpler Way of Life: The Arts & Crafts Architects of California*, ed. Robert Winter (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 283; R. W. Brackett, *A History of the Ranchos of San Diego County, California* (San Diego: Union Title Insurance and Trust Company, 1939), 22–25, 64–66; "Casa de Estudillo," 1999–2001 <<http://www.sandiegohistory.org/links/oldtown.htm#estudillo>> (30 December 2001); Sally B. Woodbridge, *California Architecture: Historic American Buildings Survey* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1988), 202–203.

⁴Sally Bullard Thornton, "Hazel Wood Waterman" in Winter, ed., *Toward a Simpler Way of Life*, 221–223.

⁵Kathie Graler, "Spanish Missions and Adobe" in *Settler Communities in the West* (July 1994): <<https://www.denix.osd.mil/denix/Public/ES-Programs/Conservation/Legacy/Settler/sett6.html>> (22 January 2002); Cliff May, interview by Marlene L. Laskey, 1984 (Oral History Program, University of California, Los Angeles), viii.

⁶Bricker, "Cliff May," 284. In his oral history, May stated he took all upper division business courses when he first enrolled. After completing those courses he did not want to take the basic requirement classes for his degree because he was impatient to get out into the world. May interview by Laskey, viii, 79.

⁷Ibid., 81.

⁸Roger Renick, "Monterey Furniture: California Spanish Revival, 1929–1943," *West Coast Peddler* 31 (March 1999): 51–57; Robert L. Smith, et al., *Monterey: California Rancho Furniture, Pottery and Art* (exhibit catalogue) (Santa Monica: Santa Monica Heritage Museum, 1989).

⁹May married Jean Lichty in 1932 at the San Diego Mission. Lecture presented by Jody Greenwald, Mount St. Mary's College, California, 23 September 2000.

¹⁰May interview by Laskey, 81–83. The history regarding whom May worked with to install his furniture in model homes as well as construct his first house is unclear. In his oral history May states that he placed his furniture in the house of a friend, O.U. Miracle, who was a realtor. It was Miracle who then introduced him to his future father-in-law, R.C. Lichty. However, David Bricker writes that May placed his furniture in one of Lichty's model homes and that May worked in partnership with Miracle, who was Lichty's grading contractor, to design and build the O'Leary house. Bricker, "Cliff May," 285.

- ¹¹At this time, one could practice architecture if one notified the client in writing that one was not an architect. In his oral history May commented that he drew up simple floor plans that would not pass inspection today. In addition, his friend and "mentor," William F. Hale, taught him how to construct this house. The building of the house started in 1931. May interview by Laskey, 85, 90–91, 93.
- ¹²Ibid., 83; David Bricker, "Built for Sale: Cliff May and the Low Cost California Ranch House" (Master's Thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1983), 111, n.28.
- ¹³"Cliff May, Miracle Company" advertisement in *Architectural Digest* IX [1934]: 84.
- ¹⁴Bricker, "Built for Sale," 111, n. 28.
- ¹⁵"Haciendas & Rancherias By Cliff May, Honors by the World" advertisement in *Architectural Digest* IX [1937]: 160.
- ¹⁶May's non-residential works included a women's club building and two motels. May interview by Laskey, viii; Bricker, "Built for Sale," 111, n.28; 115, n.35.
- ¹⁷Many people today associate board-and-batten siding with the frontier West. However, board-and-batten became popular during the picturesque movement with the Gothic revival style (1840–1875) and spread to the West as Americans settled on the frontier. William H. Pierson, Jr., *Technology and the Picturesque, the Corporate and the Early Gothic Styles*, vol. 2 of *American Buildings and Their Architects* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 304, 454.
- ¹⁸John A. Smith was an oil industrialist and banker. He hired May to build a home for him in La Habra after visiting one of May's completed projects in Presidio Hills, San Diego. Bricker, "Built for Sale," 112, n.29.
- ¹⁹May also built houses in other areas (one in Bel Air and one in Mandeville Canyon) when he first arrived in Los Angeles. Ibid., 12, 112, n.29; Gill, "Remembering Cliff May," 30.
- ²⁰The development was located on Sunset Boulevard across from the Riviera Country Club Polo Fields. "Open for Inspection, Urban Model Ranch" advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times*, Sunday, 20 October 1940, sec. 5.
- ²¹Ibid.; Cynthia Castle, "The Times Home Hunter," *Los Angeles Times*, Sunday, 17 November 1940, sec. 5.
- ²²This was not May's first house in Los Angeles. When May moved to Los Angeles, he constructed a house in Mandeville Canyon. Soon after the completion of the Riviera Ranch house, May sold his house and moved to the tract development. "Residence of Mr. and Mrs. Cliff May, Mandeville Canyon," *Architectural Digest* X [1935]: 52–53. Magazines that featured May's Riviera Ranch house: "Modern Ranch House of Mr. and Mrs. Cliff May, Riviera Ranch, West Los Angeles 24," *Architectural Digest* XI [1935]: 4–9; "House in West Los Angeles, California," *Architectural Forum* (December 1944): 134–135; Helen Weigel Brown, "Meet a Family That Really Knows How to Live," *House Beautiful* (April 1946): 74–99; "Streamlining the Ranch House," *House and Garden* (November 1941): 20–21; "What's the Future of the Ranch House?," *Sunset* (June 1944): 10–13; and "More About the Ranch House," *Sunset* (June 1944): 38–40. *Sunset's* two books are: The Editorial Staff of *Sunset Magazine* in collaboration with Cliff May, *Sunset Western Ranch Houses* (1946; reprint, Santa Monica, CA: Hennessey and Ingalls, 1999) and The Editorial Staff of *Sunset Magazine* and Books under the Direction of Paul C. Johnson, editor of *Sunset Books*, *Western Ranch Houses by Cliff May* (1958; reprint, Santa Monica, CA: Hennessey and Ingalls, 1997).
- ²³*Western Ranch Houses by Cliff May*, 25. May would remodel Riviera Ranch in 1949.
- ²⁴"50 Low Cost Houses—House in San Diego, California, Cliff May, Designer," *Architectural Forum* 70 (April 1939): 263.
- ²⁵Ibid., 261, 276.
- ²⁶May's commissions included temporary barracks in Glendale, a one-bedroom duplex development project for Ontario, and single-family defense houses in Wilmington. Bricker, "Built for Sale," 14–15.
- ²⁷Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 232.
- ²⁸Other magazines that featured May include *Good Housekeeping*, *Architectural Record*, *Pic*, *Better Homes and Gardens*, *House and Home*, *Life*, and *American Home*.
- ²⁹Cissie Dore Hill, "Sunset: A Century of Western Living, 1898–1998," *California History* 78 (Summer 1999): 95–96; Tomas Jaehn, "Four Eras: Changes of Ownership," *Sunset Magazine: A Century of Western Living, 1898–1998: Historical Portraits and A Chronological Bibliography of Selected Topics* (Stanford: Stanford Libraries, 1998), 90, 100.
- ³⁰"What is the Western Ranch House," *Sunset* (February 1944): 12–13; "Is Ranch House the Name for It?," *Sunset* (May 1944): 10–13; "What's the Future of the Ranch House?," *Sunset* (June 1944): 10–13; "More About the Ranch House," *Sunset* (June 1944): 38–40; "The Changeable, Flexible Ranch House," *Sunset* (July 1944): 10–13.

- ³¹The second architect to have the most designs published was Worley Wong with four. *Sunset Western Ranch Houses*, 30–160.
- ³²"The Ranch House, Early California to Today," *Sunset* (August 1988): 144.
- ³³"Sunset Magazine Has a New Home in the Country," *Sunset* (August 1951): 29; "On the Next Pages . . . We Invite You on a Walk Through Sunset's New Home," *Sunset* (August 1952): 47–54.
- ³⁴The second book on ranch houses was titled *Western Ranch Houses* by Cliff May.
- ³⁵Brown, "Meet a Family," 74–99.
- ³⁶"A House to Set the Pace," *House Beautiful* (February 1948): 61–71; "The Advantages of Turning Your Back on the World," *House Beautiful* (February 1948): 88–89; "A Four-Way Kitchen," *House Beautiful* (February 1948): 106–107; "Advanced," *House Beautiful* (February 1948): 110–111. The Pace-Setter House was then sold. It still stands today in Los Angeles and is a private residence.
- ³⁷*Western Ranch Houses* by Cliff May, 66.
- ³⁸From 1945 to 1947 magazines referred to California domestic architecture four times more than that of any other state. Thomas Hine, "The Search for the Postwar House" in *Blueprints for Modern Living: History and Legacy of the Case Study Houses*, ed. Elizabeth A. T. Smith (Los Angeles: The Museum of Contemporary Art, 1989), 172.
- ³⁹*Ibid.*; Anne Edwards, "Gregory Peck: To Kill a Mockingbird's Oscar Winner in Pacific Palisades," *Architectural Digest* 53 (April 1996): 166–171, 296.
- ⁴⁰Clifford Edward Clark, Jr., *The American Family Home, 1800–1960* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 210–211; Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981), 242, 253.
- ⁴¹Lesley Jackson, ed., 'Contemporary': *Architecture and Interiors of the 1950s* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1994), 19, 23–25.
- ⁴²*Sunset* magazine featured the house for their cover article. "More Living Space," *Sunset* (November 1952): 44–47.
- ⁴³Chris Choate started working for May after World War II. He became May's associate architect in 1949 and their business relationship lasted until the mid-1950s. Bricker, "Built for Sale," 14, 82, 85.
- ⁴⁴"Look What's on Sloane's Roof!" advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times*, Sunday, 21 June 1953, sec. 5. The store was located at 9560 Wilshire Boulevard, Beverly Hills.
- ⁴⁵Bricker, "Built for Sale," 87–88, 91.
- ⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 81. The design and look of the ranch house in other parts of the country did vary according to climate and tastes.
- ⁴⁷May interview by Laskey, ix.
- ⁴⁸*Western Ranch Houses* by Cliff May, 24–39.
- ⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 126–131.
- ⁵⁰In *Western Ranch Houses* by Cliff May, *Sunset* states that the house was built in 1956. However, other sources, including photographs by Julius Shulman, indicate that Mandalay was completed by 1953. *Ibid.*, 142; Lecture by Jody Greenwald, 23 September 2000.
- ⁵¹*Western Ranch Houses* by Cliff May, 142–159. May lived in Mandalay until his death in the 1980s. During the time that he lived there, he remodeled the house thirteen times. In 1994 the house was demolished. Lecture by Jody Greenwald, 23 September 2000; Annette Andreozzi, "Cliff May's Definitive Ranch House Demolished," *Los Angeles Conservancy News* 17 (May/June 1995): 4.
- ⁵²David Colen, "View from Wappo Hill," *Architectural Digest* 46 (May 1989): 276–282.
- ⁵³May interview by Laskey, xi.
- ⁵⁴Laura Tanner, "Outdoor Furniture That Can Stay Out," *House Beautiful* (May 1950): 160–166.
- ⁵⁵Kaplan, "Cliff May," sec. K. When May moved to Los Angeles he built a house in Bel Air that received a lot of publicity. Apparently some local members of the A. I. A. did not like all the attention May was attracting nor the liberal use of the title "architect" attached to his name since he was not licensed as one. Thus, they threatened May with a lawsuit. Fortunately, May's friend John Smith stepped in and had his attorneys clear any grievance against him. However, May would not be allowed to use the title "architect," only designer or builder. Bricker, "Built for Sale," 12, 113, n.30; Gill, "Remembering Cliff May," 30.
- ⁵⁶The Lindstrom House was listed on the National Register of Historic Places on 13 February 2001, and the City of Los Angeles Cultural Commission designated May's Experimental House as a Historic-Cultural Monument in May 2002.

INJUSTICE FOR SALCIDO:

The Left Response to Police Brutality in Cold War Los Angeles

by Don Parson

Around 1:00 A.M. on March 10, 1948, seventeen-year-old Augustín Salcido lay dead, shot several times through the skull, on the sidewalk in front of the Federation of Jewish Welfare Organizations Building on Temple Street near Grand Avenue in Los Angeles' Bunker Hill district. His self-confessed assailant was Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) plainclothes officer William J. Keyes. The official version of events was reported by the press: Keyes and his partner, Ernest R. Sanchez, observed Salcido selling allegedly stolen watches. Detained by the officers, Salcido struggled with Sanchez. Keyes drew his gun and rushed to his partner's aid. Salcido struck the weapon, causing it to discharge, striking Sanchez in the stomach. As Salcido tried to flee, Keyes shot him as he ran, killing him.¹

This incident occurred in a period of increasing police violence in Los Angeles. During World War II, observed Joseph Woods, "police brutality replaced corruption as the focus of criticism." The steady influx of minority defense workers, whom many city officials regarded as inassimilable, combined with "badge happy" wartime cops helped create a volatile situation. Beginning with the Zoot Suit Riots of 1943, writes Edward Escobar, "the LAPD cultivated the mystique of being the defender of the white middle and working classes against the depredations of inherently criminal racial groups." During the postwar period, the LAPD's reputation as a notoriously cruel and ruthless force deployed against the city's racial and ethnic minorities was greatly enhanced by a growing number of police brutality episodes. The shooting of Augustín Salcido was one such case.²

Responding to a "well-organized, well-heeled, insidious" drive against unions, minorities, and democratic organizations, and the perceived need to combat "discrimination and race terrorism," the Civil Rights Congress (CRC) emerged as a national organization at a conference in Detroit in 1946. The founding of a Los Angeles chapter soon followed. Throughout its ten-year existence, the CRC dealt with a broad range of civil rights grievances such as racial and political discrimination in employment and housing. Most prominently, the organization would vigorously embroil itself in the issue of police brutality against racial and ethnic minorities that exploded during the post-war years.³

As could be seen in the Justice for Salcido campaign, an aggressive commitment to social-democratic reform was the hallmark of CRC's activism. Such reform consisted of popular pressure, through petition and demonstration, brought to bear on elected politicians, bureaucrats, and the courts to redress social injustice. The close ties between the CRC and the Communist Party led the former to be branded as a "Communist front"—a label which tended to obscure and isolate leftists' commitment to social justice. "The attack on CRC as a 'Communist front'," said Gerald Horne, "was meant to destabilize a 'popular front' of communists and non-communists. . . ."⁴

The attempt to bring Salcido's killer to justice would become a minor cause célèbre for both the left and many minority groups in Los Angeles. This campaign would be spearheaded by the city's chapter of the CRC with input from the Los Angeles Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) Council, the American Veterans Committee, the 40th and 44th Assembly District Progressive Citizens of America (PCA), the National Lawyers Guild, the American Youth for Democracy, the International Workers Order, the Mexican-American Civil Rights Committee, the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, and the Los Angeles Negro Congress. The effort was heavily reported in the Communist Party's west coast newspaper, the *People's World*. With shades of the better known Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee, Guy Endore would write *Justice for Salcido* with an introduction by Carey McWilliams.⁵



The coroner's inquest into the death of Augustin Salcido was held on March 15. Recovering from his wound at the Georgia Street Receiving Hospital, Ernest Sanchez was unable to appear. William Keyes testified that he and his partner were given instructions from the Hollenbeck police station to investigate a report of the peddling of stolen jewelry at the El Coconito

cafe—a “dive” located at Temple and Grand on Bunker Hill in the Central Division. An individual in the cafe pointed out Salcido to the plainclothes officers as the purveyor of fifty watches. While Sanchez and Salcido “got acquainted” at the bar, Keyes observed their interaction from a booth. Salcido produced a watch and showed it to Sanchez. The two then exited the cafe and headed up the street, followed discretely by Keyes. Turning into the dark and deserted entrance of the Federation of Jewish Welfare Organizations Building, Salcido seemed to have second thoughts about his situation and struggled with Sanchez after the officer bodily prevented his egress. Keyes approached, drew his gun, and told Salcido to remain still. The youth was then ordered to proceed up the entrance stairway and, near the top of the stairs, tried once again to break free from Sanchez. In the ensuing struggle, Salcido knocked aside Keyes’ weapon, causing it to discharge into Sanchez’ stomach. As Salcido attempted to flee down the stairs and into the street, Keyes called on him to stop and then fired five shots at Salcido as he ran.⁶

Salcido’s autopsy showed that, of the five shots the officer said he fired, one went wild, while three of the bullets passed through the lad’s skull and one lodged in his forearm. One of the shots to the skull contradicted Keyes’ account—it was fired from the side, the bullet passing from ear-to-ear, with powder marks near the entry, indicating that the gun was discharged at a very short distance. Accounts by witnesses to events surrounding the shooting highlighted some discrepancies in Keyes’ testimony. Guillermo Gallegos saw Keyes fire the final shot into Salcido as the youth was falling on the sidewalk outside of the Federation of Jewish Welfare Organizations Building. Ella Moody, a waitress, saw Salcido come out of the cafe but not with Sanchez. Rudy Salcido reported that his brother already knew Sanchez, so there was no need for them to, as per Keyes’ testimony, “get acquainted.”⁷

Arising from Keyes’ testimony, a number of questions begged for answers: What were Keyes and Sanchez doing in the Central Division outside of their assigned Hollenbeck Division? Where was the stolen property? Of the reported fifty watches being peddled, only the one (allegedly stolen) watch was discovered on Salcido’s body. Why was the youth being “detained” in a dark and deserted hallway? Guy Endore ventured that, despite the official story that there was no such thing as police brutality, “they were going to beat him up.” Ignoring the contradictory evidence and testimony, the coroner’s jury, composed of, wrote the *People’s World*, “sleepy elderly men,” delivered a verdict of justifiable homicide on the basis that Keyes was “in the performance of his duties” as an LAPD officer.⁸

When Augustín's personal possessions were returned to his family following the verdict, among them was a receipt from Silton's Jewelry demonstrating that the watch in question had been purchased for a \$5 down payment. Guy Endore thought Salcido was attempting to defraud Silton's as the purchase blank for the watch, filled out by Augustín, gave a fictitious name, a false address, and non-existent references. Silton's roving agents collected their sales commission upon receipt of a down payment—thus encouraging sales that might not be bona fide. For only a \$5 down payment, Salcido was in possession of a \$70 watch. Guy Endore insisted on putting this in his pamphlet over the protestations of the CRC, who wanted the youth presented to the public in the most sympathetic manner. "Not that Salcido was a 'good' lad," wrote Endore, but there is no way that either Keyes or Sanchez could have been aware of Augustín's fraudulent intent, let alone justify the youth's homicide. "But that's how police brutality works," asserted Endore. "The victims are chosen among those whom some people look down upon."⁹

The verdict of justifiable homicide did not sit easily with many organizations and individuals who had observed or were aware of the coroner's inquest. Those disaffected included many Bunker Hill residents, the *People's World*, Ralph Cuaron of the American Veterans Committee, Frank Pestana of the Community Services Organization, Reverend Hugh Weston, Oscar Castro of the CIO, Jack Berman of the PCA, and others. All of the foregoing, according to Guy Endore, asked the CRC, through that organization's executive director, William R. Bidner, and organizational secretary, Anne Shore, "to push for a re-opening of the case in the interests of justice."¹⁰

Following the coroner's inquest, the CRC disclosed that Augustín Salcido was not the first person, nor even the first Mexican American, shot by Keyes while he served in the LAPD. On January 10, 1946, the policeman shot Joaquín Lopez in the head, paralyzing him; Joseph González was shot in the back on April 12, 1947, and then hospitalized for four months. In both cases, no crime was suspected or committed by those on the receiving end of Keyes' gunfire. The events subsequent to the shooting of González are revealing and illustrative of the complicity of both Keyes and the LAPD in the process of brutality. In the Pico Gardens public housing project, González and Albert Rodríguez were shot in the back by Keyes and his partner, an Officer Kaiser, who claimed that they were defending themselves from their victims' knife-play. Tried on charges of "assault with a deadly weapon" and defended by Leo Gallagher, who presented sixteen eyewitnesses to contradict the officers' account, González and Rodríguez received a vote of 9-3 for acquittal by the

hung jury. Due to community pressure, the charges were subsequently dropped. "This is a significant victory for the people in the fight against police brutality and frame-ups," stated the Mexican American Civil Rights Committee.¹¹

A story by reporter Helen Taylor published in the *People's World* examined the comportment of the LAPD in the Bunker Hill neighborhood. At 109 Olive St., not far from where he was shot, Augustin had lived with his brother Rudy and Rudy's wife, Elsie, in "a room in one of the big, gloomy rooming houses, typical of the area." Despite being assigned to the Hollenbeck division, both Keyes and Sanchez were familiar figures in Bunker Hill, which lay in the Central division. Keyes, according to Augustin's sister-in-law Elsie Salcido, "just hates Mexican people" and had a reputation for beating, harassing, arresting without cause, and shaking down the neighborhood's youth. Nina Gutierrez, a sister of Elsie, had "gone around" with Sanchez before he became a member of the LAPD. "After he got to be a cop, though, he changed," she contended: "He wouldn't speak to any of his old friends—he was snooty. He wouldn't even speak Spanish anymore. He's one of those Mexicans that turn against their own people." Sanchez bore animosity toward Augustin, who told his brother and sister-in-law several days before his death that Sanchez was out to get him. "I don't think Sanchez had any reason for it," said Elsie; she added, "he just didn't like Mexican kids."¹²

The CRC initially directed the efforts of the Justice for Salcido campaign toward Los Angeles District Attorney William Simpson, with whom a March 19 meeting had been scheduled. In a letter to sympathetic community leaders, the CRC's William Bidner requested their active support: "we are anxious to have your participation in this meeting with the district attorney." Hoping to present Simpson with a list of questions "pertinent to a full investigation of the Salcido killing" that arose from the inconsistencies within the testimony from the coroner's inquest and to express alarm at the increase of police brutality cases, the CRC-led delegations—including representatives of the CIO's political action committee, Office Workers Local 246, and Women's Auxiliary; the PCA; the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, and the Mexican-American Civil Rights Committee—were comprised of about fifty citizens. They were, on March 19 and 22, rebuffed by the district attorney when Simpson refused to meet with more than three people. Despite this refusal, the CRC wrote to Simpson on March 28, attaching to the letter a two-page memorandum which would supply his office "with a brief resume of the facts." The memorandum summarized Keyes' testimony at the coroner's inquest,

itemized the inconsistencies and contradictions therein, presented additional information and concluded with a list of Keyes' other shooting victims.¹³

Similar efforts to meet with Assistant Chief of Police Joseph Reed also came to naught. "Repeated attempts by our organization and others to get remedial action by the police department have brought no results," the Civil Rights Congress stated to the City Council in a March 24 letter. It requested that the Council's Police and Fire Committee investigate the Salcido shooting and that the Congress be allowed to submit affidavits, documentary evidence, and eyewitness accounts to that investigation. Attached to the letter was a copy of the two-page memorandum sent to Simpson above. The letter was referred to, and then languished in, the Police and Fire Committee.¹⁴

The Los Angeles CIO Council was quickly embroiled in the protest of the Salcido slaying as, according to a March 19 resolution: "Mexican-American members of our union in the thousands can testify to the beatings, intimidations, shake-downs, uncalled for arrests and terrorism carried on by the police in the Mexican-American community in Los Angeles." The resolution noted that Keyes had been an instigator in the arrest and brutal beating of Bruno Cano, a member of Local 576 of the CIO Furniture Workers. The CIO reiterated its support of Mexican Americans and other minorities "in their fight against the intimidations, brutalities, and terror tactics of the police department" and called for the arrest and trial of Keyes for the murder of Salcido. Philip Connelly, secretary-treasurer of the Los Angeles CIO Council, implored affiliated locals to write to the Los Angeles District Attorney, the chair of the County Grand Jury, the chair of the City Police Commission, and George P. Cronk, chair of the City Council's Police and Fire Commission. Bernard Lusher, of the CIO's United Office and Professional Workers of America, wrote in an April 2 letter to Cronk of how the members of his union had been following, "with increasing dismay," the events of the Salcido case. The accounts of witnesses to the events, combined with Keyes' record "indicates that this man is a danger to society and should not be let loose in the streets of our city, let alone being vested with the power and weapons of a police officer." Lusher demanded removal of Keyes from the police force and his prosecution: "If Keyes is not brought to account, this latest shooting will be a clear sign of official approval for terror against minority peoples."¹⁵

Sponsored by the PCA, the Los Angeles CIO Council, and the CRC, a memorial meeting for Salcido was scheduled on April 1 to take place in Moose Hall (on Bunker Hill at the top of Angel's Flight). Four hours prior to the scheduled meeting, Moose Hall, threatened with the revocation of its

*Courtesy Civil Rights Congress, Los Angeles
Records, Southern California Library for
Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles.*

liquor license, cancelled the contract with the CRC. A hastily-printed flyer was posted to inform potential attendees that the meeting had been moved to the Embassy Auditorium (at 9th and Grand). At that location and to a standing-room-only audience, a mock trial of "the Mexican-American community vs. the LAPD" took place. Leo Gallagher acted as the "prosecutor," Richard Ibañez presided as "judge," while District Attorney William Simpson and Assistant Police Chief Joseph Reed were invited (but declined) to cross-examine witnesses. A citizens' "jury"—including attorney Frank Pestana, American Veterans Committee state chairman Ben Rinaldo, state assembly candidate José Chavez, CIO Furniture Workers business agent Oscar Castro, Union of Office and Professional Workers of America member Ben Rothman, Ed Sinclair of the United Electrical Workers, Mary Lou Parra of the Mexican-American Civil Rights Committee, *California Eagle* publisher Charlotta Bass, Edward Roybal of the Community Services Organization, and PCA leaders Jack Berman and Peter Lord—unanimously found Keyes guilty of murder in the first degree. Philip Connelly linked "the oppressive and brutal police department" to "the rotten corruption at [Mayor Bowron's] city hall."¹⁶

On April 4, after receiving a manslaughter complaint sworn against Keyes by Guillermo Gallegos, a warrant was issued by Stanley Moffatt, justice of the peace for San Antonio Township (Huntington Park), for the arraignment of Keyes in Moffatt's court. Surrendering himself on the following day, Keyes was released under \$2,000 bail and ordered to return for the arraignment



Detective William Keyes

STOP POLICE TERROR!

BRING THIS MAN TO JUSTICE

Augustino Salcido, 17 years old Mexican-American is dead, shot five times in the head by a trigger-happy cop, Detective William Keyes. Salcido was murdered. That's the verdict of the people who saw the shooting. That's the verdict of the people who know Detective Keyes.

Augustino Salcido might have been you or me. The man who killed him is known to us. He's the same Detective Keyes who shot and sensibly killed Albert Rodriguez and Joe Gonzalez last April. He's the man who shot Joaquin Lopez in 1946.

His victims are always "dangerous criminals". Kids of 17—young veterans of the war. He shoots his unarmed victims in the back or in the face or in the head.

And what has been done about bringing Keyes to justice? NOTHING!! Last week, a Coroner's Inquest, with one member of the jury violently anti-Mexican, and another winking knowingly at Keyes—brought in a verdict of "justifiable homicide."

THIS IS OUR CITY. OUR OFFICIALS ARE ELECTED TO PROTECT US. WE THE PEOPLE OF LOS ANGELES DEMAND THE INVESTIGATION AND TRIAL OF KEYES.

WE DEMAND A STOP TO THE TERRORIZATION OF YOUNG AND OLD IN OUR COMMUNITY!

YOU'LL BE THE JURY AT A TRIAL OF KEYES

MEMORIAL MEETING

For his latest victim—Augustino Salcido

- THURSDAY, APRIL 1ST
- 8:00 P. M.
- MOOSE HALL
- 300 SOUTH OLIVE
(Top of Angel's Flight)
- ADMISSION FREE

WIRE—WRITE

DISTRICT ATTORNEY WILLIAM SIMPSON
ASST CHIEF OF POLICE JOSEPH REED
COUNCILMAN PARLEY P. CHRISTENSEN — CITY HALL

DEMANDING INVESTIGATION AND PROSECUTION OF KEYES

Auspices of:

40th Assembly District P. C. A. — 44th Assembly District P. C. A.
LOS ANGELES CIO COUNCIL — Mexican-American Civil Rights Committee.
CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS — American Youth for Democracy. Los Angeles Negro Council.
307 South Hill Street Los Angeles 13, Calif. MA. 6-5121 - 5122



hearing on April 12. The Justice for Salcido campaign would find a sympathetic advocate in Moffatt. Born in 1885, he received his law degree from Stanford University in 1914. Following private law practice in Los Angeles, Fresno, and South Gate, Moffatt was elected justice of the peace of San Antonio Township in 1938. He would proudly refer to his court as a "People's Court" that helped "the downtrodden" (see below). The judge was a sponsor of the Civil Rights Congress and had, in 1946, earned negative notoriety in the Los Angeles press for his gratuitous legal defense of a Communist couple threatened with eviction from their public housing domicile. Moffatt was a leader of Henry Wallace's League of the Common Man and, from 1944-48, first vice-chairman of the Los Angeles County Democratic Central Committee, from which he resigned in March to become an Independent Progressive Party congressional candidate in that fall's elections. "[A] self-avowed if some-

Courtroom in Huntington Park, April 12, 1948. Moffatt is at left,
Scott is in the center, Keyes is at right with arrow.

Courtesy Herald-Examiner Collection/Los Angeles Public Library.



what frenzied admirer of Stalin and the Red dictatorship," the Tenny Committee unkindly described him, "To say that Moffatt has disgraced the justice's court is to make an understatement."¹⁷

In the meantime, principal material witnesses to the events surrounding the shooting of Salcido found themselves in hot water with the LAPD in what Guy Endore described as "Operation Strong-Arm" and "Operation Frame-Up." Oscar Del Campo, who would offer pertinent testimony regarding Salcido's allegedly stolen watch, was arrested and then told to leave the neighborhood. Ella Moody was arrested on charges of drunkenness, while a further indictment of "disturbing the peace" was added two weeks later. Moody's case would be heard in municipal court on May 18 by Judge Joseph Call who, finding insufficient evidence for her arrest, declared her not guilty and dismissed the case. Several hours after signing the manslaughter complaint against Keyes, Guillermo Gallegos was arrested on a charge of marijuana possession. He and his lawyer, Leo Gallagher, charged that the arrest was a frame-up to discredit Gallegos' testimony against Keyes. The jury at his first trial would vote 7-5 for acquittal on May 25. Tried again, Gallegos would be unanimously acquitted in Superior Court Judge William R. Macy's courtroom on July 15.¹⁸

On April 12, in the court of Judge Stanley Moffatt in Huntington Park, the preliminary hearing to determine if Keyes should be bound over to Superior Court to be tried on charges of manslaughter took place. The People were represented by George Kemp, a Los Angeles Deputy District Attorney, while Joseph Scott and A.H. Risse appeared as Keyes' advocates. The crowd of spectators had, about an hour before proceedings began, filled the courtroom and then overflowed into the corridor. At the opening of the two-hour hearing, Scott filed an affidavit which questioned the ability of Keyes to receive an objective hearing. "This defendant therefore alleges on information and belief," read the affidavit, "that certain communist-front organizations and certain well known communists were instrumental in securing the warrant of arrest in this action from the Honorable Stanley Moffatt, and that said Honorable Stanley Moffatt is a sponsor of one of said organizations. . . ." "[T]his man doesn't believe he can get a fair trial before you," concluded Scott to Moffatt. Moffatt refused to disqualify himself, stating that he had no knowledge of nor prejudice against the defendant, and was certainly capable of conducting a fair preliminary hearing. His motion denied, Scott became openly hostile to the judge, opining that the proceedings were brought to Moffatt's court to "make you a sucker and a fall-guy for these people. . . . In that affidavit it

states that back of this movement is a communist program that is behind this thing." A heated exchange ensued when Moffatt threatened Scott with contempt charges should he persist in red-baiting.¹⁹

George Kemp called Rudy Salcido, brother of Augustín, and Guillermo Gallegos as witnesses for the prosecution. Kemp, whose heart was not in his assigned task, elicited little more in his rather innocuous and condescending examination than the events surrounding the death of Augustín Salcido on the morning of March 10. Kemp established that Gallegos had indeed seen the final shot that felled Salcido, but neglected to ask who had fired that shot. The court intervened to pose that question to the witness: "Officer Keyes," was the reply. As anticipated, Scott cross-examined Gallegos about his recent arrest and previous convictions for marijuana possession: "Were you smoking marihuana that night [of Salcido's death]?" Kemp intended to call Ella Moody to further establish events, but she was not present. Scott noted for the record that Leo Gallagher—a sponsor of the Civil Rights Congress, a former Communist Party candidate for California's Secretary of State, and, as Scott had said earlier, "an out-and-out Communist"—was in conference with Kemp. "He has a perfect right to do so," Moffatt pointed out, "We also listen to Republicans in this Court as well as Communists." Following a reading of testimony from the coroner's inquest of March 15, Kemp rested the People's case.²⁰

The court asked Scott for arguments that there was not sufficient evidence to hold Keyes over for trial. The record showed, replied Scott, "the presumption" that Keyes was "a police officer doing his duty, and upholding and enforcing the law and order against that that wants to tear down the principles of our government. . . ." "[Y]ou mean to say," Moffatt asked for a clarification, "that there is a presumption that every time a police officer fires a bullet he is within his rights?" Moffatt wanted an argument specific to the particular circumstances of the case at hand—the judge had seen nothing in the record "that justifies him shooting that boy down." Scott read again Keyes' testimony from the coroner's inquest, to which Moffatt again sought a clarification: Was it Scott's contention that "if there is any resistance to arrest that the officer is entitled and permitted to kill a man, is that right?" A frustrated Scott abandoned his defense of Keyes and asked instead if the judge knew why the case had come into his court. "I do," replied Moffatt, "because this Court has been known to help the downtrodden people of the community. It is known as a people's Court out here. . . ." Asked by Kemp if he intended to call witnesses on behalf of his client, Scott refused: "In this court at this time? I should say not."²¹


Leo Gallagher identified himself as a friend of the court ("He is no friend of yours," Scott interjected to Moffatt) and, over the objections of both Scott and Kemp, introduced two witnesses and recalled two others to testify further for the prosecution. Rudolph Cordiero testified that Salcido had actually purchased the allegedly stolen watch from an agent of Siltan's Jewelers for \$5 down. A receipt was produced showing the date of sale as February 9, 1948, though the witness claimed an error in the writing of the receipt as Cordiero had witnessed the sale on March 9, the day prior to Salcido's death. Oscar del Campo reenforced Cordiero's testimony that Salcido had indeed bought the watch. Gallagher recalled Rudy Salcido, who testified that Augustin was in possession of the watch on the evening of his death, and Guillermo Gallegos, who stated that Salcido left the cafe alone just prior to his shooting and not, as Keyes had asserted at the coroner's inquest, in the company of Officer Sanchez.²²

Apparently finding the direction of the hearing too distasteful, Kemp had abandoned his post, leaving the courtroom when Gallagher began calling witnesses. Nevertheless, Moffatt ruled that there was sufficient evidence to indicate that Keyes was guilty of manslaughter. With his bail set at \$2,000, Keyes was ordered to appear in Department 42 Los Angeles County Superior Court for arraignment on April 27. Salcido's death, concluded Moffatt, "seems to me a very outrageous killing without any justification whatever. . . . I don't like the spirit of Fascism that is sweeping America. It seems to me that the war hysteria has got everybody sort of crazy in this country, and the first thing they think about is to pull a gun and shoot somebody."²³

Kemp's absence from the conclusion of the hearing was the basis for a telegram from the CRC to Attorney General Fred Howser, accusing the Los Angeles District Attorney of not adequately preparing the prosecution. The CRC requested that the Los Angeles National Lawyers Guild and the Los Angeles Bar Association "immediately investigate the failure of the L.A. District Attorney's office to adequately represent the interests of the people."²⁴

On the morning of April 14, an editorial in the *Los Angeles Times* called for the "careful examination" of the California law that allowed any magistrate in the county to issue a warrant, regardless of jurisdiction, for a major crime. Though the complicity of Stanley Moffatt and Leo Gallagher with "Communist front" groups were "important elements" in this case, the paper took no position on Keyes' guilt or innocence. What was involved was a matter of local authority: "There is no reason to go elsewhere." Accused by the *People's World* of having "scrambled on The Times bandwagon," Councilman

KEYES ON TRIAL!



Policeman William Keyes

WHAT IS YOUR VERDICT?

He pulled the trigger five times on March 10, 1948. And Augustin Salcido was dead.

Salcido's crime? Trying to evade two burly policemen who had him cornered in a dark stairway, held by one and covered by the pistol of Keyes.

This is the same Keyes who has three shootings to his record of the past eighteen months and who boasts of many more.

This is the police officer about which District Attorney William Simpson, Asst. Chief of Police Joseph Reed, and the City Council have done nothing. . . .


It was only an aroused people who have brought Keyes to trial.

Augustin Salcido was his victim.

17-year-old Mexican-American, Augustin Salcido was born to poverty and reared in an America which denied to him and millions of others the right to decent jobs, decent homes, and freedom from fear.

One of many thousands, Augustin was used to the bullying and brutality of police who enjoyed pushing him and his friends around.

Is it any wonder that cornered—he was afraid and tried to get away?



The Victim, Augustin Salcido

WILLIAM KEYES GOES ON TRIAL ON CHARGES OF MANSLAUGHTER, THURSDAY, JULY 8th, 1948, DIVISION 41—HALL OF JUSTICE, 9 A.M. LET THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE KNOW THAT THE PEOPLE DEMAND A FULL PROSECUTION OF KEYES AND A COMPLETE INVESTIGATION OF THE CITY'S POLICE PRACTICES.

A complete review of the case will be given at a **PUBLIC MEETING** to be held on **FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1948**—the day after the beginning of the Keyes trial.

MASS MEETING

- FRIDAY, JULY 9th, 1946
- CONVENTION HALL - EMBASSY
9th and Grand—8 P.M.
- ADMISSION FREE
- HEAR: Leo Gallagher, Attorney
Guy Endore, Author of
"Justice for Salcido"
and others.

YOUR BALLOT . . . COME TO THE MEETING, HEAR THE FACTS AND CAST YOUR BALLOT

I believe that Police Officer William Keyes is GUILTY ☐ INNOCENT ☐

OF THE MURDER OF AUGUSTIN SALCIDO

Issued by the Civil Rights Congress of Los Angeles, 307 South Hill — MA. 6-5121 - 5122

Courtesy Civil Rights Congress, Los Angeles Records, Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles.

Lloyd G. Davies introduced a motion, seconded by Councilman Ed J. Davenport, instructing the City Attorney to examine, as per that morning's *Times* editorial, the California law that had allowed Moffatt to issue a felony complaint against an LAPD officer for an offense committed outside Huntington Park. According to Davies, Moffatt "was solely concerned with using his court as the sounding board for certain opinions of certain groups." Davenport charged that Moffatt had received support from known Communists and that this episode "is the greatest travesty on justice ever seen

in California." The motion was adopted unanimously.²⁵

The following day, the Civil Rights Congress wrote to Cronk in protest of Davies' above remarks, imploring the council to instruct the Police and Fire Committee to call an immediate hearing on the Salcido case "in order to prevent further efforts by those forces, such as the *L.A. Times*, who are interested in promoting bigotry and hysteria to interfere with the due process of law." A letter to the council on the same date condemned Davies' April 14 motion: "Mr. Davies knows, as do other councilmen who are lawyers, that the procedure in the Keyes case was perfectly usual and lawful." (The City Attorney apparently agreed in his May 25 response to Davies' motion, stressing the legality of Moffatt's action and recommending that, in the absence of the frequent or consistent "misuse of the present system," the council should let the current legislation stand.) The CRC concluded its letter by again urging the

Police and Fire Committee to hold open hearings on the matter. "Only through such hearings will the Council, as a whole, be able to get from witnesses the true facts in the situation."²⁶

Some of the letters published by the *Times* in response to its April 14 editorial must have buoyed the spirits of the CRC's leftist activists. "Justice Moffatt has long had a reputation for lawfully protecting the underdog," wrote Gwynne Mountain McCord. "His conscience and his ideals as well as his knowledge of the basic principles of American justice . . . have undoubtedly prompted his actions." Identifying himself as a Republican, "a Taft man—conservative enough to believe in justice," James D. Oakes stated that "I believe Justice Moffatt has taken a step necessary in the interests of justice which no Police Court or prosecuting authority would take. No Los Angeles policeman is ever held accountable for his acts." He opined that "Scott's court conduct, as reported, was contemptible—Moffatt's and Gallagher's admirable." One W.P.M. chastised the implications of the paper's editorial: "You seem to forget that a murderer should be brought to justice and that [this] . . . is the clear duty of our justices. Their own political persuasion or that of their associates seems to me to be beside the point." Signed by community leaders active in the Justice for Salcido campaign, a CRC statement condemned the *Times* editorial as "a spectacle of vituperation and mud-slinging calculated to obstruct justice in the Salcido case."²⁷

On April 19, a delegation representing the Bunker Hill Chapter of the CRC and the 44th District Progressive Citizens of America, and consisting of Mrs. Bette K. Larson, H. Nordmark, Mrs. Francine Gonzales, and William R. Bidner, met with 9th District City Councilman Parley Parker Christensen and 44th Assembly District Assemblyman Edward Elliott. Christensen and Elliott agreed to the requests of the delegation to "make immediate representation" to District Attorney William Simpson to seek a thorough prosecution of Keyes, and to demand the immediate suspension of Keyes from the LAPD while his manslaughter charges were being determined by the courts. Christensen also agreed to request that the records of the LAPD and of the police commission be turned over to the Council's Police and Fire Committee in order to hold open hearings regarding police brutality in the Bunker Hill community.²⁸

Christensen and Elliott were the most sympathetic politicians to the Justice for Salcido campaign. Both were left-wing Democrats and living on Bunker Hill, which was part of their respective representative districts. In the wake of the Salcido shooting, they were pressured by many of their con-

stituents to question actively the matter of police brutality. Christensen had been the 1920 presidential candidate of the Farmer-Labor Party and, when elected to the Los Angeles City Council in 1935, formed the backbone of that body's "liberal bloc" from which he would consistently side with causes and projects (e.g., public housing, rent control, day-care centers, free health clinics, more parks and playgrounds, support for organized labor and minorities) that were constituent parts of the leftist strategy for making a better city. Following his chairmanship of the 44th Assembly District Democratic Club and military service during World War II, Elliott was elected to the 44th Assembly District in 1947. The assemblyman participated with the CRC's attempts to prod various government agencies to investigate the death of Salcido. His habitual partisanship in leftist causes would result in not only frequent citations by the California Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, but the personal wrath of that committee's chair, State Senator Jack Tenny, as well.²⁹

The leftist origins of the Justice for Salcido campaign defined the opposition to that movement. Thus the *Hollywood Citizen-News*, in the wake of Keyes' preliminary hearing, editorially queried the motivation of communists in the Salcido shooting controversy. Were they prompted "by their interest in human justice?" No, answered the paper, because "one hears no outcry from them against the brutality, the dishonor, the slavery imposed by the Stalin dictatorship." Rather, the Justice for Salcido campaign was part of "a communist program to make as much trouble as possible for the police. . . ." Councilman Ed J. Davenport, attacking the campaign as a "communist plot," made a motion, unanimously adopted by the City Council on April 28, to have the April 22 edition of the *L.A. Fire and Police Protective League News* attached to the loyalty oath file. While the *News* claimed to be concerned with the Salcido shooting, it was, in fact, little more than a list of the leftists and their organizations active in the Justice for Salcido campaign with corresponding insinuations supplied by Jack Tenny's Un-American Activities Committee, and illustrated by the covers of numerous Independent Progressive Party and Communist Party pamphlets. This information, read the Davenport motion, "will serve as a valuable guide in establishing the basis for the loyalty tests."³⁰

When Keyes appeared before Superior Court Judge Thomas L. Ambrose for arraignment on April 27, his lawyer, Joseph Scott, introduced a motion to set aside the order, issued by Moffatt's court, to try Keyes for manslaughter. Scott's motion was based on the grounds that the San Antonio township had no jurisdiction to issue a warrant for Keyes, nor was there probable cause

Courtesy Civil Rights Congress, Los Angeles
Records, Southern California Library for Social
Studies and Research, Los Angeles.

or sufficient evidence for an arrest. The pretrial motion was denied by the Superior Court judge on May 5. "The proceedings before Judge Moffatt reflected credit upon no one," asserted Ambrose, but the charges made "concerning the extraneous nature of the prosecution" were irrelevant, and he further affirmed the California law which allowed Moffatt's court to issue a warrant for Keyes. "I cannot see that it was necessary to shoot a man that many times to keep him from running away," stated the judge, "and while Officer Keyes may be able to explain his actions satisfactorily, I feel he should do so at a trial court." The defendant was ordered to appear in Superior Court before Judge Harold B. Landreth on June 16. "I'm glad the man who killed my brother is going to stand trial for shooting him," declared Rudy Salcido subsequent to Ambrose's ruling. He thanked the CRC and the *People's World* "for doing such a good job on this case."³¹

On June 14 Keyes' trial was moved back to July 8. The postponement was requested by the defendant's attorney, Joseph Scott, so that, according to Guy Endore, the lawyer might attend the Republican National Convention, June 21-25, in Philadelphia. As the District Attorney's office had not previously shown much enthusiasm for the indictment of Keyes, a delegation sponsored by the CRC met with the People's advocate, Deputy District Attorney Russell Broker, on July 7 to present him with petitions, signed by more than 2,000 people, demanding that the District Attorney do a thorough job in prosecut-

KEYES FREED TO KILL AGAIN!

Judge C. C. McDonald from Yolo County, Monday handed Policeman William Keyes a complete acquittal on a manslaughter charge... The judge said: "There is absolutely no evidence that Keyes killed the victim." Yet Keyes admitted before a coroner's jury that he shot Augustin Salcido on March 9th, 1948.

THEN, IN THE EYES OF THE LAW, WHO KILLED SALCIDO? . . . DID THE 17-YEAR-OLD BOY BLAST FOUR BULLETS INTO HIS OWN BODY?

Protest Meeting

**To DEMAND William Keyes
REMOVAL from the
Los Angeles Police Force**

Keyes' acquittal is a contemptuous slap in the face to the thousands of people who demanded Keyes' full prosecution. The people were depending on the courts for an unprejudiced and impartial verdict.

JUDGE McDONALD'S DECISION IS A BETRAYAL OF TRUE JUSTICE!

Monday Evening

JULY 19th ★ 8:00 P.M.
Embassy Auditorium
Ninth and Grand Streets

If this admitted killer stays on the job then law enforcement officers are above the law and are free to shoot first and ask questions later...

HEAR

PHILIP M. CONNELLY
Secretary, L.A. CIO Council

LEO GALLAGHER
Noted Labor and Civil Rights Attorney

DAN MARSHALL
President, L.A. Lawyers' Guild

DEMAND

Grand Jury investigation of—

- Superior Judge McDonald's verdict in this case.
- Police department practices and handling of brutality complaints.
- Methods and verdicts of the coroner's jury.

ADMISSION FREE

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ing Keyes. Oblivious to the fact that the arraignment of Keyes would not have proceeded in the absence of pressure by the CRC, Broker chastised "you people [for] defeat[ing] your own purpose by crowding into this case in the first place." Assemblyman Edward Elliott, a member of that delegation, questioned Broker as to the inconsistent logic in his statement.³²

The case was originally scheduled to be heard by Judge Harold Landreth, but the ailing jurist was, at the last moment, transferred to civil court. Instead the trial was presided over by Judge C.C. McDonald of Yolo County, who had a reputation as a "convictor." As Keyes waived his right to a jury trial, McDonald conducted the case from the bench. (This was somewhat of a surprise as many observers believed a hung jury to be Keyes' best chance to avoid conviction.) Representing the People, Russell Broker called thirteen witnesses during the initial two days of the trial (July 8 and 9). The Community Service Organization had hired a private investigator to inquire into the Salcido shooting, the results of which were being efficiently used by Broker. Walter Camp of the Police Scientific Investigation Bureau testified that the powder marks on Salcido's face indicated that the bullet was fired at a close range. In addition, while the bullets that passed through Salcido's skull were never found, the slug lodged in the youth's arm was determined to have come from the gun of Keyes' partner, Ernest Sanchez. Bannering the difficulties faced by the defense, *La Opinión* wrote that Broker had "desarrollado una intensa actividad para presentar ante la Corte todos los ángulos que pueden influir en el veredicto que deberá rendirse en el caso Keyes." Broker conducted the prosecution, wrote the *California Eagle*, "without enthusiasm, but with almost boring thoroughness," piling up the evidence against Keyes. "[I]t seemed Broker was in there fighting a good fight," observed Guy Endore.³³

A July 9 rally at the Embassy Auditorium was sponsored by the CRC. The two hundred participants decided that, whether convicted or acquitted in court, Keyes was guilty of murder; demanded a grand jury investigation of police practices in Los Angeles; called for a grand jury investigation of the methods and functioning of the coroner's jury; and insisted on immediate assurances from the police commissioner, the district attorney, and the city council that such probes be undertaken. Featured speakers included Leo Gallagher, Guy Endore, and *California Eagle* publisher Charlotta Bass. Addressing the African Americans in the audience, Bass strategized that "We minorities must become more closely united. The Mexican-Americans' fight is our fight too."³⁴

On the third day of the trial, July 12, Joseph Scott, Keyes' attorney, did not put on a defense but asked the court to dismiss the case as the only eyewitness, Guillermo Gallegos, was a convicted felon who had shown bias and prejudice towards the police. McDonald replied that he did not like to decide cases on technicalities but preferred administering a verdict. Thereupon the defense formally rested and, after a short recess to read the proceeding's transcript, the judge denied the motion and announced that he was prepared to rule on the matter of *People v. Keyes*. As the only bullet lodged in Salcido came from, according to Camp's previous testimony, the gun of Ernest Sanchez, McDonald found the defendant not guilty: "There is absolutely no evidence that Keyes' gun had killed the victim." The testimony of Gallegos, whom McDonald referred to as "that marihuana witness" and "very suspicious," testified that he had seen Keyes firing the final shot into Salcido was dismissed by the judge as "Gallegos saw only one shot and there is no proof that this one killed Salcido." McDonald ruled that Broker had presented insufficient evidence to sustain a conviction of manslaughter against Keyes.³⁵

An observer to the trial, Guy Endore wrote that "Broker sat there as if slugged," visibly shaken by the verdict. The prosecutor's bewilderment belied his failure to introduce the murder weapon into the case, his failure to connect the murder weapon to Keyes, and his failure to put on record the transcript of the coroner's inquest in which Keyes testified to firing five shots at Salcido. Was Broker "merely negligent," queried Endore, or "a stumblebum of a lawyer who wasn't equal to such a job?" There was, postulated the author, "a smell of treason and conspiracy in that courtroom." "I gave the case all I had," commented Broker in the aftermath of the proceedings. "It's over now. Finished."³⁶

Keyes' acquittal engendered a reaction of indignation and disgust from the leftist activists who had spearheaded the Justice for Salcido campaign, leaving them, headlined the *People's World*, "aghast." "Injustice and police brutality have again been upheld in the courts of Los Angeles!" the Los Angeles CIO Council reported to its membership. Guy Endore termed it an "Injustice for Salcido." The verdict was "the rottenest thing I've ever seen," asserted Leo Gallagher. Carey McWilliams said that he was "deeply shocked" at Keyes' acquittal though "not particularly surprised." The dismissal was "an insult to the entire Mexican-American people," stated Frank Lopez of Amigos de Wallace. "Victims of police brutality, such as the much-publicized Salcido case," editorialized the *California Eagle*, "are beginning to question our claim to [be]

the best country in the world." McDonald's ruling, wrote Anne Shore to CRC supporters, "shocked those in the courtroom." The CRC administrative secretary announced a mass protest meeting on July 19 at the Embassy Auditorium and urged all to attend. "Keyes is free to kill again," she admonished, "unless an outraged public demands immediate action." Such demands would include Keyes' immediate removal from the LAPD and a grand jury investigation of the handling of the Salcido case "and all other police brutality cases."³⁷

At the July 19 protest meeting at the Embassy Auditorium, more than one thousand people heard speakers Philip Connelly, "Hollywood 10" member Alvah Bessie, Guillermo Gallegos, Leo Gallagher, IPP congressional candidate Sidney Moore, and Dan Marshall, president of the Los Angeles Lawyers' Guild, condemn the courtroom verdict and implore those gathered for continued popular action. Phil Connelly spoke of the need to pound "the full fury of an aroused citizenry against the outrageous licensing of murder." A unanimously adopted resolution demanded a dismissal of Keyes from the LAPD, a grand jury investigation of the Salcido shooting, and a complete investigation of both the methods and functioning of the Coroner's Jury and police practices in Los Angeles. Letters and resolutions from "your union, church, organization and your community" were encouraged to be sent to the grand jury foreman, to the police commission and to Police Chief C.B. Horrall. A "Petition for Justice," addressed to Mayor Bowron, District Attorney William Simpson, the Police Commission, Police Chief Horrall, and the grand jury, reiterated these demands.³⁸

At noon on July 20 residents of the Bunker Hill neighborhood (including Guillermo Gallegos and Rudy and Elsie Salcido) and members of the CIO United Office and Professional Workers who were employed at the Federation of Jewish Welfare Organizations Building gathered for a memorial service. At the curb outside the building (at 610 Temple) where Salcido had been shot on March 10, a wreath of flowers, tied with a ribbon proclaiming "Justice for Salcido," marked the spot where the youth had fallen. Mollie Mason, executive board member of the union's Social Service Employees local, laid the wreath after which Ben Cohen, co-chair of the union's Federation chapter, expressed to the Salcidos the sympathy of his organization. He pledged "to our neighbors that police brutality against minority groups, Mexican, Negro and Jew, must cease." He then read the resolution that the Office and Professional Workers had formulated in accord with the previous evening's mass meeting.³⁹



Memorial for Salcido, July 20, 1948. Guillermo Gallegos stands behind Mollie Mason, who is laying the wreath on the spot where Salcido died.

*Courtesy Civil Rights Congress, Los Angeles Records,
Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles.*

In line with the foregoing resolution, a delegation of some ten community and labor leaders met with Assistant Chief of Police Joseph Reed on August 10 demanding the immediate dismissal of Keyes. Reed, according to the *People's World*, "relaxed comfortably in his swivel chair," responding to questions in a manner that was "either calculatingly blunt or coolly [sic] evasive." As Keyes' culpability in the death of Salcido, said Reed, "has been adjudicated in the courts," he "didn't care to answer" questions concerning what the LAPD intended to do about the officer. James Daugherty, representing the Los Angeles CIO Council, concluded the meeting by telling the chief that "the community feels the police department just doesn't give a damn what a man like Keyes does, and it's a serious situation when the police department let's [sic] police get by with whatever form of brutality they want to." On September 27

the City Clerk informed the CRC that, following the recommendation of the Police and Fire Committee, the City Council carried a motion to file all communications regarding the CRC's demand that the council hold "immediate open hearings" into the death of Augustín Salcido at the hands of William Keyes. Keyes' acquittal in Superior Court, held the committee, made the matter superfluous. Following four months of inactivity and open hostility, thus ended city involvement in the CRC's Justice for Salcido Campaign.⁴⁰

Keyes lasted nearly another year in the LAPD. He and Sanchez, Marvin W. Haney, John H. Edwards Jr., and the City of Los Angeles were listed as co-defendants in a lawsuit filed by Sam Sol Matzkin at the end of July 1948. Matzkin claimed that the aforementioned police officers assaulted him in front of his home on October 5, 1947, and then beat him at the Hollenbeck station. Matzkin's suit asked for \$40,000 in personal damages and \$20,000 in exemplary damages. On August 9 the Board of Police Commissioners petitioned the City Council to authorize the City Attorney to defend and/or perform all legal services for Keyes and his co-defendants. On August 17 the City Council's Police and Fire Committee recommended the approval of that request. (The suit was dismissed in June 1954.) In 1949 Keyes became embroiled in the LAPD vice scandal that swirled around Sergeant Charles Stoker. After relating his concerns to officers in the adjacent Santa Monica Police Department, Keyes was suspended for conduct unbecoming a police officer and allowed to resign from the LAPD in July. The CRC considered his departure a "benefit to Los Angeles citizens and a complete justification of our position." However, the CRC added, "Keyes . . . cannot be allowed to cover up his crimes or escape prosecution by the simple method of resigning."⁴¹



Following the July 12, 1948, climax of Keyes' manslaughter trial, the August meeting was the final organized effort in the trajectory of the Justice for Salcido campaign. Two factors can account for this. Primarily, the process of social-democratic reform had been utilized and exhausted. The CRC and its leftist affiliates had mobilized popular pressure to write letters, pass resolutions, sign petitions, and meet with politicians in order to achieve some social justice from the tragic and wrongful death of Augustín Salcido. By such means, the CRC succeeded, in spite of official opposition and obstruction, in bringing Salcido's self-confessed killer to trial. With the unfavorable verdict, there were few opportunities for the political left to further the consensus-building of social democracy. The CRC would continue to cite the Salcido

shooting as well as other police brutality cases in calling for a grand jury investigation into the policies and practices of the LAPD.⁴²

Secondarily, other important projects consumed the time and effort of many leftists. The savage beating to death of an African American, Herman Burns, at the hands of the LAPD in August 1948 led the CRC to form a "Justice for Burns Citizens Committee." "This killing," wrote the leadership of the Committee, "following so closely on the heels of . . . the fatal shooting of Augustin Salcido, necessitates the most immediate action of all citizens and organizations in the community." A consequent sense of urgency permeated mobilization efforts: "If all decent citizens do not raise their voices now to help in the fight against police brutality," admonished a committee leaflet, "you or someone dear to you may be the next victim." Support of the 1948 presidential bid of Henry Wallace and the congressional candidacy of the Independent Progressive Party slate were likewise considered as essential endeavors.⁴³

The issue of police brutality during the postwar period became increasingly marginalized—isolated as a civic problem of concern to both Communists and non-Communists—and divided between left and right, leaving little space for criticism, protest or reform. Redbaiting and anti-Communism were the essential elements in enforcing this polarity. Permeating the Justice for Salcido campaign, the attacks on the leftism of the activists "put the Salcido case on a par with Greece, Italy, Czechoslovakia," according to Guy Endore. "It is part of the great cold war." The rabid anti-Communism of the early 1950s, observes Josh Sides, "had a destructive effect on the CRC's civil rights program." Ultimately, the red scare would divert the resources of the CRC away from its focus on police brutality and instead toward concentrating on protecting that organization's own civil rights. As the political persecution of Communists increased, the prestige held by the CRC amongst minorities tended to wane. By 1956 the financial, legal, and political cost of being labeled a "Communist front" would force the CRC to liquidate.⁴⁴

The legacy of the left and its response to police brutality in Los Angeles has a dual perspective, both negative and positive. As to the former, Gerald Horne describes how the effects of the domestic Cold War would haunt the city during the years to come. The fragmentation and destruction of the left, and especially of the CRC, during the 1950s red scare created a power vacuum that would be politically conducive to the conflagration of the 1965 Watts riot. On the other hand, Josh Sides identifies the circulation of struggles and tactics of the CRC to the latter-day civil rights movement as critical.

The left's insistence on popular mobilization to inform and energize an agenda of social-democratic reform would resonate in civil rights organizations of the 1960s.⁴⁵

NOTES

¹"Suspect Slain, Officer Wounded in Struggle," *Los Angeles Examiner*, March 10, 1948.

²Joseph Gerald Woods, "The Progressives and the Police: Urban Reform and the Professionalization of the Los Angeles Police" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1973), p. 390; "Testimony of Orville R. Caldwell" (Deputy Mayor of Los Angeles), in United States. Congress. House Committee on Naval Affairs, *Investigation of Congested Areas* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 1760–1770; "Testimony of C.B. Horrall" (Chief of the LAPD), in *ibid.*, pp. 1770–1773; Edward J. Escobar, *Race, Police, and the Making of a Political Identity: Mexican Americans and the Los Angeles Police Department, 1900–1945* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p. 286.

³Congress on Civil Rights press release, April 3, 1946, American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California (hereafter ACLU) Collection, Box 40, Folder 5, Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles; Josh Sides, "'You understand my condition': The Civil Rights Congress in the Los Angeles African-American Community, 1946–1952," *Pacific Historical Review* 67 (May 1998): 233–257.

⁴California Legislature. Fourth Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, *Communist Front Organizations* (Sacramento: California Senate, 1948), pp. 201–208; Gerald Horne, *Communist Front?: The Civil Rights Congress, 1946–1956* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1988), p. 25. See also *Civil Rights Congress tells the story . . .* (Los Angeles, [1951]), pp. 1–12 [this is a six-page pamphlet published by the Civil Rights Congress]. "Police brutality in the area gave Los Angeles a well-deserved national reputation that cries about a 'Red Plot' aimed at protesters could not drown out." Horne, *Communist Front Organizations*, p. 337.

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Book Reviews

CATALINA SAGA: *An Historical Cruise Around Santa Catalina Island*. By Richard and Marjorie Buffum. (Balboa Island, CA: Abracadabra Press, 2003. 264 pp. \$28.95.) Reviewed by Arthur C. Verge.

One of the special joys of a crystal clear day along the southern California coastline is being able to see Catalina Island off in the western distance. On such days the island's suddenly visible presence seems to act like a siren of Greek mythology, luring beholders to visit its shores, or at the very least, stirring in its viewers a curiosity as to what exists on the island. Adding to the pleasures of living in southern California is the discovery of this well-written and researched book on assorted facets of the region's colorful history. *Catalina Saga*, by the late Richard Buffum in conjunction with his wife, Marjorie, proves to be one of those joys. Truly a labor of love, this book is both extensively researched and written in a reader-friendly manner.

The Buffums, both of whom were formerly writers for the *Los Angeles Times*, have been able to combine their love of sailing and their fondness for Catalina Island into a wide-ranging book that traces the island from its geologic origins all the way up to its modern-day existence. Among the vast array of subjects covered in the book are accounts of the peoples and sketches of personalities who have left their marks on the island's history and development. Beginning with a very interesting account of the rise and decline of Catalina Island's indigenous peoples, including an 1864 federal government proposal to turn the island into an Indian reservation, the book carefully documents the arrivals of such disparate groups as Spanish explorers and missionaries, Chinese fishermen, gold seekers, land developers, smugglers, and the continuing mainstay of the island's existence, business people in search of tourist dollars. In addition, the book focuses on the significant roles played by such interesting luminaries as Phineas Banning and chewing gum magnate William Wrigley Jr. in making the island the tourist attraction that it is today.

With a goal of bringing Catalina's historic past into the collective memory of southern Californians, the authors made extensive use of primary source materials—a particular strength of this book. From Spanish and Mexican California era records, to state and federal records, to consultation with current Catalinans and on to conducting numerous oral histories with island old-timers, the Buffums have explored several neglected treasures of local history.

For those conversant with southern California lore, a number of the book's stories will be familiar, such as the debate over which off-shore California island is Cabrillo's burial place, the story of the placement of Union troops in Wilmington and Catalina during the Civil War, and the use of the island by the Chicago Cubs for spring training from the 1920s to the early 1950s. However, in retelling each of these stories, the Buffums provide some very interesting insights into each little "saga."

For example, in relation to the debate as to the exact island on which Cabrillo is buried, the authors judiciously examine an array of recent scholarship, much of which is credible enough to show that the "discoverer" of California may well indeed be buried on Catalina. Also interesting is the Buffums' account as to why Union troops were stationed on the island during the Civil War. According to their research, that decision was based on the fear that Confederate sympathizers in southern California could take over the island and use it as a privateer base to harass shipping in the Catalina Channel.

Written in a breezy style, the book also brings to light such interesting facets as the 200 plus movies made on Catalina (including *Mutiny on the Bounty*), the island's once frequent celebrity visitors, such as Stan Laurel, Tom Mix, and Zane Grey (both of the latter two had residences on the island), and the interesting past of the Wrigley Corporation's still fondly remembered S.S. *Catalina*, which provided passenger service between the mainland and Avalon for over fifty years.

For those interested in learning about the island's many inlets and coves, readers can follow the Buffums as they make a complete point-to-point sail around the isle. At each anchorage, the authors describe the selected area's topography, weather patterns, and history.

If one were to have a quibble with *Catalina Saga*, it may be with its organization. At several points in the book, topic areas tend to skip around, but in defense of the authors, this reviewer feels this is understandable given the sheer magnitude of information that is provided. This is one of those wonderful books where one can open any page and find something engaging to read.

A few such nuggets include the authors' description of long-ago, tourist-filled, flying fish boats and their account of the very dangerous 1927 marathon swim race between the California mainland and the island. Then there is the story of the once popular Casino Ballroom, which, during the height of the Big Band Era, would have upwards of 3,000 dancers swaying to the music on its polished dance floor. More than a nugget is their engaging story of the Wrigley family's impact on Catalina, particularly of the Wrigleys' devotion to protecting and preserving the island's natural resources.

For readers who have visited Catalina Island, this book is certain to stir up memories. Who can forget their first time entering Avalon Harbor and gazing down into its crystal-clear water? Or the first time they looked westward across the small scenic bay to gaze upon the still beautiful Casino built in 1929?

If you have not been to Catalina, this book is the tonic to get you there. When you read the Buffums' well-told story it will help you realize that some of southern California's most colorful history is only twenty-six miles from its shoreline.

Arthur C. Verge is Professor of History at El Camino College in Torrance, California.

TAMING THE ELEPHANT: *Politics, Government, and Law in Pioneer California*. By John F. Burns and Richard J. Orsi, eds. California History Sesquicentennial Series. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003. 299 pp. \$65.00 cloth, \$29.95 paper.) Reviewed by Thomas G. Andrews.

The title of this, the fourth and final volume in the California History Sesquicentennial Series, refers to the oft-expressed desire of '49ers to "see the elephant"—"to describe," as editor John Burns explains in his useful introduction, "their encounters with strange and alien situations or exotic and enlivening experiences" (p. 1). How, the editors and contributors ask, did politics, government, and law serve to subdue, control, and order the wild beast of frontier California? Their efforts to answer this question meet with mixed success, leading the reader to ponder whether the anthology as a whole has succeeded at harnessing its subject.

On the one hand, several essays make original contributions to the literature on early statehood. Donna Schuele skillfully integrates women's history and legal history to shed new light on struggles over marital property, suffrage, and occupational rights. Judson Grenier provides a useful overview of the oft-ignored workings of state government in the mid-nineteenth century, covering both the policies and the personalities of California's incipient state bureaucracy. Shirley Ann Wilson Moore draws upon recent scholarship in Native American, Mexican American, Asian American, and African American history to examine how Anglo Americans used law to construct and reinforce racial difference and social inequality. Robert J. Chandler uses the California case in assessing the validity of a core claim of the "new western history"—that the American West constituted, in Richard White's now-famous phrase, "the kindergarten of the American state"—and concluding that federal institutions and initiatives mostly played nothing more than a supporting role in shaping the state's development. Gordon Morris Bakken ably narrates the establishment of legal institutions and summarizes key findings from his monograph on the practice of law in early California. And John Burns' introduction ably situates the volume in a historiographical lineage reaching back from Gerald Nash, through Hubert Howe Bancroft, to the state's founders.

These insightful essays make this anthology required reading for any serious historian of California. Yet despite the editors' desire to include only the most current and innovative scholarship, the volume occasionally evinces a dusty parochialism. Largely overlooking important recent literature in such areas as law and society, critical legal studies, and political culture, the authors tend to eschew interpretive approaches that might have offered fresher vistas on oft-traveled historical terrain. Apart from a few tantalizing paragraphs on San Francisco women's typographical unions, for instance, Schuele focuses almost exclusively on the organized political activities of Anglo women of the upper and middle classes. More problematic still is the tendency of Roger McGrath's essay on frontier justice to rehash age-worn chestnuts on vigilantes, criminals, and lawmen with palpable nostalgia. When he reassures readers that gunfighters shot dead on the streets of Bodie were "usually young and single, and always brave," one wonders what documents have enabled McGrath to peer into dead men's souls and judge cowardice and foolishness lacking.

Such excesses aside, the virtue of this volume's uneven quality is the cognitive dissonance it engenders. Nowhere is *Taming the Elephant's* promise of raising important new ques-

tions more evident than in the book's photographs, political cartoons, paintings, and other images—including the sixteen color plates accompanied by Joshua Paddison's descriptive essay and the dozens of black-and-white illustrations sprinkled throughout the book. Portraying peoples, worlds, and institutions even more contradictory and ambiguous, more fascinating and worthy of exploration than those filling the text, they limn the contours of elephants historians have only begun to glimpse, let alone to tame.

Thomas G. Andrews is an Assistant Professor of History at California State University, Northridge, focusing on the American West, environmental history, and Native American history. He is currently preparing a manuscript entitled "Toil and Trouble: Work, Power, and the Nature of Industrial Conflict in the Colorado Coalfields, 1870–1914."

HELEN HUNT JACKSON: *A Literary Life*. By Kate Phillips. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003. 380 pp. \$34.95.) Reviewed by Gloria R. Lothrop.

In reading this biography one meets the complete Helen Hunt Jackson for the first time as author Kate Phillips introduces us to the acclaimed poet, travel essayist, domestic advice columnist, the highly successful writer of adult and juvenile fiction and, finally, intrepid champion of the Native American cause. All this the writer accomplished in the brief span of her final two decades. In the biography, Phillips places Helen Hunt, or H.H. as she was known to her readers, in the context of late nineteenth-century American and European men and women of letters. Ralph Waldo Emerson, a respected member of the circle, considered Jackson one of the foremost American poets of her era.

Having read and transcribed more than 1,300 letters that survive—despite the fact that Jackson had ordered every shred of her writing destroyed—Phillips explores the writer's close personal relationships with her mentor, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and his other protégée and fellow Amherst resident, the reclusive poet Emily Dickinson, and her friendship with actress Charlotte Cushman. Her circle also included several of the first generation of professional women writers who actively cultivated recognition and critical acclaim. Jackson herself established social relationships with literary leaders in the course of attending New York salons and taking up annual residence in the most desirable seaside boarding houses at Newport.

Jackson, who honed her style under Higginson and by reading numerous European critics and stylists, soon embraced the idea of a moral objective in writing. This proved to be apt preparation for the future crusader for American Indian reform.

Phillips proves to be a skilled literary historian and critic as she places Helen Hunt Jackson within the literary panorama of her day and persuasively establishes her as a seminal force in the regional writing movement. She alerts the reader to Jackson's crisp, short literary cadences presaging contemporary prose and attempts to explain Helen Hunt Jackson's appar-

ent commingling of Romanticism, realism and sentimentalism as less a shortcoming than an idiosyncrasy of the era. She also explains that Jackson's concern with growing urbanism led her to the regional genre, which she felt offered cultivated audiences perspectives and strategies for coping with urban industrial growth.

The book, organized chronologically and by genre, introduces Helen Maria Fiske in a New England household in which both devout parents earnestly cultivated within their children habits of sober diligence, perseverance, and unremitting cheerfulness in their pursuit of personal salvation. The following section is more textured as Phillips traces Helen's education, employment as a teacher, marriage to Westpoint graduate Edward Hunt, motherhood, and work as a Civil War volunteer. In the process the author explores how Jackson's marriage is shadowed by the death of two young sons and later her husband. Driven by grief and ill health, she became a peripatetic sojourner the rest of her life. In a later section Phillips is as perceptive in describing the complexities of the author's second marriage to the bluff but kind William S. Jackson, a successful Colorado entrepreneur.

During her professional writing career Jackson published an average of five periodical pieces a month and as many as seventy literary items annually—including at least two poems a month—in prestigious national magazines, including *Century* with a circulation of 200,000. Sales of books, often compilations of her articles, which commanded at least ten dollars a page, also supported a lifestyle not possible with her private resources.

To her credit, Phillips carefully traces Jackson's changing opinions on several volatile issues. For example, she observes that originally the future reformer was adamantly opposed to suffragists, believing that the pursuit of women's rights was an improper venture beyond woman's sphere. She was thus prompted to christen satirically Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony as the "Leatherstockings." With the passage of time, however, as she became more deeply engaged in the Native American cause, she came to understand the importance of access to the political process.

A similar transformation of attitude led Jackson away from the anti-abolitionist positions of both her parents and her husband, to an enthusiastic reaction to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, presaging her single-minded championship of the Indian cause beginning in 1879. Thereafter she used her literary talent to convey the miseries and the helplessness of the American Indian. While the point of view in Jackson's popular travel essays had been distinctly Anglo-American, Phillips notes that after a fateful meeting with the Ponca chief, Jackson exhibited a singular understanding and compassion made even more profound by her trip to California, where the deceptiveness of government Indian policy aroused her moral outrage. Her investigations were reported in numerous articles and ultimately in *Century of Dishonor*, which, though well-reviewed, sold a mere two thousand copies. Jackson, however, sent additional copies to every member of Congress.

She read widely at New York's Astor Library before a second trip to California to embark upon the final phase of her reform efforts, and later in Hubert H. Bancroft's San Francisco archives. On site she welcomed the assistance of Antonio Coronel and Abbot Kinney as she revisited the theme of the encroachment of American urban industrialism upon Native American traditions. In the process she proposed to write a novel which "would do for the Indian a thousandth part what *Uncle Tom's Cabin* did for the Negro . . ." (p. 252). She

departed soon after for New York, where in slightly more than three months she completed *Ramona*, a novel set in southern California at a time when *Californios* had capitulated to Americans and shared a space with the dispossessed Native Americans.

To Jackson's disappointment, rather than being seen as an exposé of racial inequities, the book became a cultural icon. Phillips notes several causes for this. The book provided an instantly accessible history for those curious about California and the reform message in *Ramona* was too veiled and the characters too idealized to provoke reform sympathies, especially among readers not yet accustomed to considering multi-cultural issues.

Phillips herself is challenged by a multi-cultural issue when she faults Jackson for her tolerant view of the Franciscan missions, asserting as fact that the system was based "on the forcible subjugation and servitude of local Indians" (p. 244). That contention is still widely debated given the complexity of the issues specific to the era of Spanish settlement of California.

In conclusion, Kate Phillips has written an excellent, well-researched biography, but that strength has also resulted in a few possible shortcomings. At the outset the narrative appears to be insistently linear. For example, while 25 percent of the text focuses on Jackson's childhood, including the unrelenting influence of her parents' Calvinism, there is no reference to the Unitarianism simultaneously flourishing at her father's university, a religion whose emphasis upon individualism and intuition would later be embraced by Jackson.

Furthermore, a thoughtful reader must ponder Phillips' decision, in writing a comprehensive biography of Helen Hunt Jackson, to devote the majority of her study to Jackson's very early years and to her ascent in the world of American letters, while devoting less than 15 percent to the crusader's acclaimed Indian reform efforts. A scant two and a half pages are devoted to the writing of *Century of Dishonor*.

In addition, an alert editor might have cautioned that the biographer's familiarity with literary traditions might sometimes presume upon the sophistication of readers who may have long ago forgotten about the Pre-Raphaelites or overlooked the author's very cogent explanation of regionalism provided in the Introduction.

Finally, Phillips' concluding thesis that *Ramona* "initiated" (p. 277) the tradition of dystopian literature about southern California requires significantly more development to be persuasive.

This excellent study is well-illustrated, has a fine index and is most readable in its Rinsford type. The end notes not only enhance the text, but also reveal Phillips' breadth of knowledge on the subject, as does the comprehensive and up-to-date bibliography.

Gloria R. Lothrop, Professor Emerita and the first W.P. Whitsett Professor of California History at California State University, Northridge, has written extensively on California and the American West. She has specialized in the history of ethnic groups and women in her teaching and writing. In 1996 she was made a Fellow of the Historical Society of Southern California.

SACRED SPACES: *Historic Houses of Worship in the City of Angels*. By Robert Berger with text by Alfred Willis, introduction by Kevin Starr. (Los Angeles: Balcony Press, 2003. 176 pp. \$59.95.) Reviewed by Diane Kanner.

Were it not for the automobile we rely upon and the far-flung nature of community in southern California, more of us might have already set foot in the awe-inspiring churches and temples lavishly illustrated in Robert Berger's *Sacred Spaces*. How often we drive on Wilshire, Adams, or Sunset Boulevards without a clue to the grandeur inside these *Historic Houses of Worship in the City of Angels*. Anyone who has visited more than a handful of the fifty-four structures within the book's 176 pages is a rare person indeed, the kind of companion Berger might have welcomed during a three and a half year quest, underwritten in part by the Graham Foundation.

Berger made a pilgrimage to religious structures after a more secular architectural book project, *The Last Remaining Seats: Movie Palaces of Tinseltown*, imbued him with an appreciation of period revival architecture. "I have learned how buildings can transport you in time," he explains in the Preface. Drawing upon photography skills honed in the more commercial architecture and construction trade, Berger has created a book to be sought after by collectors of Los Angeles social and architectural history.

Accompanying his inspiring photographs is lively text by Alfred Willis that compares and contrasts the work of the structures' architects, alluding to the decision-making process as congregations selected architect, style, and location. Willis's background and expertise give the text credibility. A Ph.D. in architectural history from Columbia University, he capitalizes upon skills acquired while he was the director of the UCLA Arts Library. The lengthy bibliography reflects the fact that numerous sources of information were used for each of the fifty-four religious institutions.

As much ecclesiastical as architectural historian, Willis is able to place phenomena like Gnosticism within their context. To the finicky scholar of Los Angeles architectural history, Willis's background and expertise give the text credibility often lacking in large format glossy picture books. How many readers will be able to refute his claim that "Immanuel Presbyterian Church is the masterpiece of architect Chauncey Skilling?"

Albert C. Martin Sr. and Thomas Franklin Power get their due as prolific designers of Roman Catholic churches. S. Tilden Norton emerges as local Judaism's leading architect. We find that by 1921, Congregation B'nai Brith, at Ninth and Hope, pondered sacrificing its revered and ancient name to become a more geographically precise "Wilshire Boulevard Temple," then, as today, an impressive address.

Timeless as the rich images of façades and sanctuaries may be, one is jolted to acknowledge that not all the actions of humanity are for the greater good. Images of R. M. Schindler's Bethlehem Baptist Church and Edelman and Barnett's Breed Street Shul splashed with revolting graffiti make clear that these institutions have their work cut out for them in the twenty-first century. The cupola of Saint Vibiana Cathedral is cross-less, first damaged by the 1994 earthquake and then neglected after a governing body decided it was time to change cathedrals. Preservationists needing photo documentation for challenges and battles in coming years should keep this book on their shelves.

Religion in Los Angeles is placed in context with an introduction written by the State of California Librarian and renowned historian of California, Kevin Starr. "So many religious traditions are represented in this book," he writes, "because, quite simply, the peoples of the world have brought the religions of the world to the City of Angels." If Berger's criteria had not been limited to structures built before 1952, he would have also found himself in mosques.

Berger visited over three hundred houses of worship in Silverlake, Los Feliz, Echo Park, Boyle Heights, East Los Angeles, Lincoln Heights, Downtown, Mid-Wilshire, Exposition East, Exposition West, Beverly Hills, West Los Angeles, Santa Monica, and Hollywood. "Wandering through neighborhoods that seemed as foreign as distant lands," he writes, "looking for steeples, crosses and domes vaulting towards the sky, I began to appreciate the vast web of Los Angeles, its wide range of ethnicities and constantly changing demographics." With addresses at the back of the book, readers are able to set out on a quest of their own, finding on foot what is overlooked from the windshield.

Sacred Spaces takes Los Angeles architectural study another step forward and is a valuable addition to the continuing examination of Los Angeles architecture.

Diane Kanner has written about Los Angeles architecture for magazines and newspapers, and recently completed a biography of Los Angeles architect Wallace Neff.

WESTERN PLACES, AMERICAN MYTHS: *How We Think About the West*. Edited by Gary J. Hausladen. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2003. 360 pp. \$49.95.) Reviewed by Flannery Burke.

Perhaps the most alluring element of *Western Places, American Myths* is a photographic essay by Peter Goin. Goin meditates on what it means to belong to the West, and to his adopted home in the Great Basin. The shadow of Goin's own tripod along the cracked surface of the Black Rock Desert, a man staring skyward surrounded by the waters of Lake Powell, and a rock spiral constructed along Highway 50 and set against distant lavender hills all reveal human traces in one of the nation's most forbidding landscapes. Through artistic implication more than academic argument, Goin's essay leads its readers to think about the plethora of meanings that Americans assign to the places that they call western.

Academic argument, of course, is the medium of the remainder of the authors in the volume. Hausladen has assembled a diverse and readable collection of twelve essays in which geography predominates as the disciplinary lens through which authors view how western realities and western myths "feed off each other" (p. 5). Hausladen identifies three dichotomies that scholars commonly apply when viewing the American West: the West as an exceptional region versus the West as a part of national culture, the "real" West versus the mythic West, and the West as region versus the West as process. Historians may yawn at a return to the "place versus process" debates that predominated in western history in the early 1990s, but Hausladen bypasses any boredom and the dichotomies themselves with a geo-

graphical argument. "For the geographer," he writes, "region is about process, a continuous reinvention and redefining of place" (p. 6). With this, Hausladen sets the stage for the contention of the remaining chapters: that each element of the West's seeming dichotomies constitute "complementary parts of the same whole" (p. 1).

Part I begins with William Wyckoff's chapter on geographers' continual fascination with the American West. The piece is a bibliographic essay, and readers will likely enjoy Wyckoff's skillful organization of geography's contributions to western academic inquiry. Paul Starrs follows with an essay that reminds readers that ranches are a part of the visual landscape, the real one as well as the mythic. Starrs' intriguing point that ranch society has become "so symbolic that the details of its realities are all but lost" leaves one hungry for a thorough investigation of just that symbolism, be it in advertising, the rapidly expanding tourism industry, or even the real estate booms that have driven so many ranches out of existence (pp. 62-63). John B. Wright then provides a persuasive assault on the myth that the West's land has meaning only in "quaint panoramas, fiction, art movies, affected fashion, cowboy pop music, and retro log architecture" (p. 87). Conflicts over land remain, Wright concludes, and they are "visceral disputes over land and life" (p. 87). Wright's essay is nicely juxtaposed with Lary M. Dilsaver's chapter on the National Park System. Dilsaver outlines the uneven means by which criteria for park additions developed. He ends by offering suggestions for future National Parks. Read in light of Wright's essay, Dilsaver's proposals raise questions about what land ownership battles the federal government would enter with the creation of new sites.

Part II tackles the role of populations in the West previously overlooked by most geographers. Richard Jackson focuses on the history of the Mormons in the American West. Jackson lingers over myths Mormons hold about the region: "that [Brigham] Young had no idea of the destination of the pioneer party until his first sight of the Salt Lake Valley" as well as myths that non-Mormons hold: that the landscape of the Mormon West is represented more by "ward chapels" and "temples of faith" than by the more typical "urban sprawl" (pp. 147 and 159). Terrence Haverluk follows with an essay that argues that "in many respects Hispanic culture now defines what is Western" (p. 166). Haverluk's enthusiasm for Hispanic culture is infectious, but a more serious look at how celebrations of Hispanic culture have masked and furthered the social and political marginalization of Hispanic and Mexican people is warranted in an essay of this kind. Akim Reinhardt aims to disprove the perception of Native Americans as one-dimensional. He focuses on outlining the diverse and changing ways indigenous people have spatially responded to the West. Part II ends with an excellent essay by Karen Morin on British writer Isabella Bird, author of *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains*. Morin argues that Bird's writing on the Rocky Mountains both reinforced and transgressed Victorian notions of imperial ideology and womanhood. The essay exemplifies the novel interpretations and approaches that arise when scholars turn their attention to the perspective of women, racial and religious minorities, and other marginalized groups.

Paulina Raento opens Part III with an essay on the meaning of gambling in the American West. She calls attention to the fact that gambling culture has both reflected and constituted western life. A similar interplay between cultural form and lived reality is the focus of Dydia Delyser's essay on ghost towns. Delyser not only traces the etymology of the term "ghost town" and the history of such places, she also notes the constant mythic content of actual western places. As she puts it: "As places to seek the mythic West then, ghost towns may be ideal: As they grew up and grew old, the American mythic West evolved with them"

(p. 277). Hausladen expands on this theme in the volume's concluding essay on western films. Focusing on the central role of western settings to westerns, Hausladen reminds us how crucial the West is as a symbol of national identity. Goin's photographic essay appears in this third part as well, but its message pervades the book. As long as we are in the West, Goin implies, Americans must confront how we imagine it.

Flannery Burke is an Assistant Professor of History at California State University, Northridge. She is writing a group biography of the artists, writers, and activists who surrounded salon hostess Mabel Dodge Luhan in New York and New Mexico.

HOME BOUND: *Filipino American Lives Across Cultures, Communities, and Countries*. By Yen Le Espiritu. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003. 282 pp. \$55.00 cloth, \$21.95 paper.) Reviewed by James A. Tyner.

Following her other work on Filipino American communities, Yen Le Espiritu has written a book that is both poignant and provocative, theoretical and textual. *Home Bound* is more than a history of Filipino American migrations and experiences, rather it attempts to chart a new course for the scholarly study of immigration.

Compared to other systems of migration, that of Filipino Americans remains relatively understudied. To this end, Espiritu's work complements existing studies such as Rick Bonus's *Locating Filipino Americans* and Jonathan Okamura's *Imagining the Filipino American Diaspora*. All three works, moreover, coalesce around the notion of "place" and of spatially situating the Philippine diaspora. Consequently, Espiritu's book serves as an important addition to a more "critical" approach to migration, one that explicitly considers gender, racism, power, and hegemony. Specifically, Espiritu contributes to a renewed agenda in migration scholarship, one that has re-articulated the concepts of identity formation and community relations.

Home Bound is empirically based on in-depth interviews conducted with Filipino Americans residing in San Diego, California. And while acknowledging that San Diego is not necessarily representative of all Filipino American communities, Espiritu does suggest that a narrow focus on one community permits her to "examine at close range and in rich contextual detail both people's material circumstances and their alternative understandings of and struggles against . . . local and extralocal circumstances" (p. 18). In so doing, Espiritu effectively weaves the concept of "home" throughout her work, concentrating on how Filipinos remember and construct their "homelands" both in the Philippines and in the United States. Moreover, Espiritu skillfully intersperses personal stories, vignettes, and narratives within the theory-rich text, thus providing an approachability and sensitivity that other scholarly studies often lack.

The book begins with an informative historical foundation. Chapters 2 and 3 situate Filipino migration to the United States within the context of U.S. colonialism, neocolonialism, and capital investment in Asia, as well as the racialized, economic, political, and cultural foundations of the United States, respectively. Subsequent chapters examine various facets of

"home-making" of Filipino Americans. Chapter 4 examines how immigrants "reconnect" with the Philippines through transnational activities, including a discussion on remittances and "home-coming" events. Also, Espiritu presents some interesting material on the participation of Filipino Americans in both the Philippine- and U.S.-based, anti-Marcos movement. Chapter 5 is a case study of the Filipino American community in San Diego. Considerable attention is paid to the impact of the U.S. Navy on both Philippine migration as well as the growth of the community in San Diego. Chapter 6 addresses gendered issues, household change, and employment practices. Both chapters 7 and 8 explore family relations, examining first the relationship between Filipino immigrant parents and their daughters and later the difficulties experienced by U.S.-born and/or raised Filipino Americans. Throughout, Espiritu contends that "gender is a key to immigrant identity and a vehicle for racialized immigrants to assert cultural superiority over the dominant group" (p. 157). Moreover, Espiritu devotes special attention to the creation and maintenance of multiple and overlapping identities. At times poignant, these chapters effectively capture the tensions and emotions encountered by transnational households. Indeed, one of the more moving sections of Espiritu's work is her discussion of how second-generation Filipinos contemplate suicide in Chapter 9.

Given that Espiritu's main argument is to forward a "critical transnational" perspective, I concentrate the remainder of my review on this aspect of her work. Transnationalism, according to Espiritu, has challenged our notions of place and has encouraged researchers to rethink geographical implications of mobility. She contends, however, that "transnationalism has overemphasized transnational circuits and understated the permanency of immigrant settlement" (p. 3). Additionally, Espiritu provides a critique of the assimilationist paradigm, arguing that immigration studies remain "America-centric" and that an uncritical transnational perspective "valorizes the linear narratives of immigration, assimilation, and nationhood" (p. 4). As such, Espiritu forwards a critical transnational perspective that situates the immigration of Filipinos to, and experiences in, the United States within a context of U.S. imperialism and colonialism.

The strength of her book, with respect to the deeply textual understanding of the San Diego community, is, however, a potential weakness, given her larger project of a geographically sensitive critique of transnationalism, America-centered approaches, assimilation, and identity formation. She argues, for example, that her approach "calls attention . . . to the multiple directions and forms of border crossings forged by colonization, decolonization, and the globalization of late capitalism" (p. 72). It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that Espiritu does not consider, to any extent, the approximately 800,000 Filipinos who leave the Philippines each year on six-month or two-year contracts as overseas workers. Some estimates place this "temporary"—and highly mobile—segment of the Philippine diaspora at over three million. Indeed, Espiritu claims, based on her interviews, that "most Filipino migrants do not live in transnational 'circuits' but instead are quite rooted in San Diego" (p. 97). However, an entirely different picture emerges if one considers that of all Philippine emigrants, approximately 85 percent are classified as contract workers, clearly a transnational circuit. While it is no doubt true that most Filipinos living in San Diego are "rooted" in place, a "critical" approach would do well to consider the non-American sites of the Philippine diaspora. To this end, a sensitivity to this circular migration system would actually buttress Espiritu's arguments vis-à-vis neocolonialism and capital investment/accumulation processes.

For example, these disparate Filipino communities are increasingly utilizing the Internet as a means of maintaining contact with other communities throughout the world. In this manner, Filipino communities in destinations as varied as Japan, Hong Kong, and the United Arab Emirates are forging new conceptions and constructions of "home." Given Espiritu's concern with the geographic implications of a critical transnational perspective, one may question her inattention to the established connections beyond the Philippine-San Diego axis. Moreover, the material and symbolic connections between the San Diego community and other communities throughout the United States are not explored. Thus, one is left to wonder about the experiences of Filipinos living in communities with relatively few, if any, other Filipinos. The experiences, the discriminations, the material conditions—the "homemaking"—encountered by Filipinos living in parts of the Midwest, for example, are considerably different than those of Filipinos living in San Diego or Los Angeles.

I raise these issues not so much as a critique of Espiritu's work, but rather as a map to articulate more fully the geographic sensitivities which Espiritu is charting. Espiritu's work is a valuable contribution to the literature, not only of Filipino American communities, but of migration and transnationalism in general. A major strength of Espiritu's work, including not only this present book but her previous writings, is her ability to make significant theoretical and empirical contributions while not losing sight of the human dimension.

James A. Tyner is an Associate Professor of Geography at Kent State University with interests in Filipino American studies, migration, and social geography. He is the author of Made in the Philippines: Gendered Discourses and the Making of Migrants.

Other Recent Publications

by Merry Ovnick
Book Review Editor
Southern California Quarterly

The *Southern California Quarterly* receives more books than it has space to review. Readers may be interested in the following recent works.

THE GOLD AND SILVER OF SPANISH AMERICA, c. 1572–1648: *Tables Showing Bullion Declared for Taxation in Colonial Royal Treasuries, Remittances to Spain, and Expenditures for Defense of Empire.* By Engel Sluiter. (Berkeley: The Bancroft Library, University of California, 1998. 191 pp. \$50.00.)

This is a valuable reference source for scholars of Spanish conquest and colonization of the Americas. The author has quantified the gold and silver produced in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish America, producing fold-out charts of the dates and quantities of species declared for taxation at each royal repository, accompanied by brief historical accounts of how the explorers or mining operations obtained them.

SANTA MARGARITA DE CORTONA ASISTENCIA: *A Forgotten Missionary Foundation along California's El Camino Real*. By Msgr. Francis J. Weber. (Mission Hills, CA: Saint Francis Historical Society, 2003. 45 pp. \$12.00.)

This small book tells the history and doctrinal context of an *asistencia* or outlying branch of the San Luis Obispo Mission. Built in 1787, the chapel of Santa Margarita de Cortona eventually fell into private hands, was incorporated into a modern barn and thus lost from sight.

JOHN BIDWELL AND CALIFORNIA: *The Life and Writings of a Pioneer, 1841-1900*. By Michael J. Gillis and Michael F. Magliari. (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2003. 368 pp. \$19.95, paper.)

This narrative of pioneer John Bidwell's active life gives us an eye-witness account of the overland trek to California in 1841, race relations in early California, the discovery of gold in 1848, the Bear Flag Revolt, the Gold Rush, agricultural development in the state, and California politics. It also depicts a fascinating personality because the authors supplement their descriptive accounts of each facet of Bidwell's biography with pages of his own written observations of the places, people, and events in which he participated.

A LEGACY OF HEALING: *The Story of Catholic Health Care in the Archdiocese of Los Angeles*. By Msgr. Francis J. Weber. (Mission Hills, CA: Saint Francis Historical Society, 2003. 84 pp. \$12.00.)

An institutional history of the Catholic hospitals, nursing facilities, and organizations providing health care in the Los Angeles archdiocese, a region from Santa Barbara to Long Beach, from 1769 to the present, this short book summarizes the healing mission of the church and essays some explanation for recent hospital sales, mergers, and closures.

AFTER THE BOOM IN TOMBSTONE AND JEROME, ARIZONA: *Decline in Western Resource Towns*. By Eric L. Clements. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2003. 408 pp. \$29.95.)

When mining boom towns went bust, the reasons and the process were complex. Clements' book offers more than his title suggests. He studies the economies, societies, institutions, and lives in Tombstone and Jerome at the peak of their booms, then traces how their declines played out. He goes on to analyze the strategies by which both towns reinvented themselves as tourist attractions in the twentieth century. The pattern should interest urban historians as well as anyone interested in the Wild West.

DUNCAN GLEASON: *Artist, Athlete, and Author*. By Jane Apostol. (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 2003. 142 pp. \$27.50.)

Duncan Gleason (1881-1957) is the subject of this brief biography. Descendent of notable Gleasons dating back to the Revolutionary War, Duncan Gleason won fame as a competition and exhibition athlete in the first two decades of the twentieth century and was well-known as a southern California yachtsman in the last decades of his life. But he is best remembered as an artist and illustrator whose work graced the cover of *Out West* and accompanied stories, advertisements, motion picture posters, and brochures. His particular specialty was marine paintings. The book celebrates a long and active life in southern California.

VIOLA MARTINEZ, CALIFORNIA PAIUTE: *Living in Two Worlds*. By Diana Meyers Bahr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003. 171 pp. \$29.95.)

Readers who recall the article on the Sherman Institute that appeared in the Fall/Winter 2002 issue of *Southern California Quarterly* will be fascinated by this account, based on the oral history of Viola Meroney Martinez, an Owens Valley Paiute sent to the school at ten to be "Americanized." Her life-long struggle to balance the two worlds to which she belonged is poignantly told. Her experience as a civilian worker at the Manzanar Relocation Camp, where Japanese Americans were incarcerated on historically Indian land during World War II, gives a new perspective on that dark chapter of American history.

THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY: *An Americana Century, 1902–2002*. By Robert A. Clark and Patrick J. Brunet. (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2002. 303 pp. \$75.00.)

In addition to designing and composing the *Southern California Quarterly*, the Arthur H. Clark Company has earned an esteemed position as a publisher of fine books and primary sources on North American history. In celebration of the company's centennial anniversary, this book contains a descriptive bibliography of the 700 titles the Arthur H. Clark Company has published, along with an institutional history. It updates and expands an earlier bibliography published in 1992.

CALIFORNIA'S ARAB AMERICANS. By Janice Marschner. (Sacramento: Coleman Ranch Press, 2003. 160 pp. \$18.95.)

This book attempts to explain the state's Arab American minority, its roots, and its culture. The bulk of the book is taken up with identifying and celebrating families, mostly from Syria or Lebanon, who settled in California in the twentieth century, and their success, whether as business owners or as progenitors of large families. It was written as a response to questions and unease following 9–11, but it may have its greatest appeal to Syrian and Lebanese Americans who will enjoy seeing their forefathers named in print.

POETS OF THE NON-EXISTENT CITY: *Los Angeles in the McCarthy Era*. Edited by Estelle Gershgoren Novak. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. 294 pp. \$35.00 cloth; \$19.95 paper.)

The Los Angeles poets and artists who engaged controversial subjects, causes, and language in the 1950s—the era of the Beatniks, jazz coffee-house poetry readings, and the McCarthy witch hunts—are belatedly showcased here, in poetry and in engravings, drawings, and block prints. The editor includes an introductory essay that establishes the Los Angeles context in which these artists worked, along with biographical sketches of each poet and artist.

SHOPPING AT GIANT FOODS: *Chinese American Supermarkets in Northern California*. By Alfred Yee. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003. 208 pp. \$35.00.)

From the 1950s through the 1970s, family owned and operated grocery stores provided a major strategy for Chinese immigrant families to support themselves and get ahead in north-

ern California. Serving mostly non-Chinese customers, these neighborhood stores relied on low-paid family and sponsored immigrant labor to cut operating costs. In the face of unionization and changing labor laws, most of them went out of business by the 1980s. Alfred Lee maintains that this was a positive development—they had achieved their founders' economic goals and helped their families assimilate. The book provides an unusual vehicle for understanding the immigrant experience.

MEDICINE MOVES TO THE MALL. By David Charles Sloane and Beverlie Conant Sloane. (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003. 216 pp. \$39.95.)

In tracing the spatial transformations of medical services from sterile laboratory facilities to client-friendly architectural spaces and, more recently, to accessible spaces in malls and commercial strips, the Sloanes shed light on the changing relationships between “shopping” health care clients and the health care industry. This book is equally interesting to students of social change, architecture and urban planning, and health science management.



All in all, this very diverse outpouring of recent books on California and Western History is proof of the wide range of scholarship and topics currently being explored. There is something here of interest to any reader!

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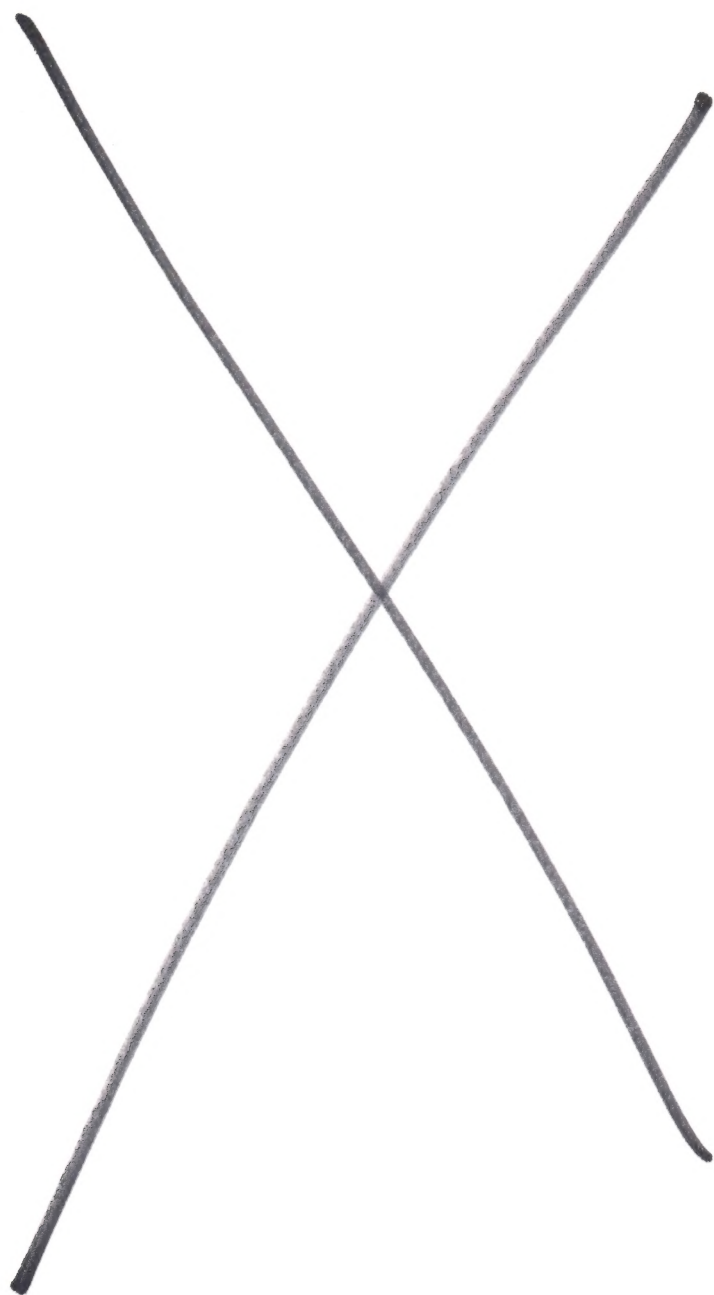
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